



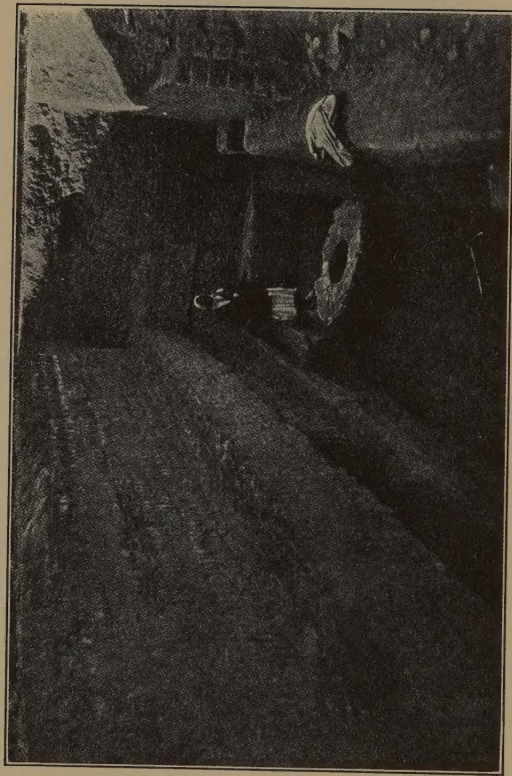
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BIBLICAL LIBRARIES



NIPPUR. TREASURY-ARCHIVE. SARGON I. (2750? 3200? 3800? B.C.)
FROM HILPRECHT P. 390
PLATE I

BIBLICAL LIBRARIES

A SKETCH OF LIBRARY HISTORY
FROM 3400 B.C. TO A.D. 150

BY

ERNEST CUSHING RICHARDSON

ARCHON BOOKS
HAMDEN, CONNECTICUT
LONDON
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PREFACE

A good deal of material on the early history of libraries has been gathered by the author of this essay during the last twenty-five years. This material is not yet ripe for systematic publication and the rapidly growing body of results from recent excavation suggests that it will be long before it is. Essays, addresses, and encyclopedia articles have however been prepared out of this material from time to time for various occasions and audiences and it has seemed worth while, in default of something better, to shape these in such way as to form a general survey or first orientation of the matter, and to publish in this form, in spite of the fact that they are incomplete as to material and have been prepared for very different audiences and in very different perspec-

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PREFACE

tives. Such value as they have lies chiefly in the fact that those who could do the work better do not do it at all.

Essays on Antediluvian Libraries, Medieval Libraries, Some Old Egyptian Librarians, etc., have been previously published without any attempt at complete outline of the subjects, but the present series commencing with "The Beginnings of Libraries" (1914) and followed by this volume on "Biblical Libraries," aims slightly to reshape the material of each essay so as to make of it an outline map or sketch of the whole period with which it has to do, without however attempting to fill in the detail of anything but the particular subject or to radically change the method and general style appropriate to the occasion for which it was written. *The Beginnings of Libraries* covered the legendary, prehistoric, and primitive period, taking to perhaps 3400 B.C. *Biblical Libraries* takes up the matter at

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this point and carries over into the beginning of the Christian era.

Previous volumes have on the whole been received in the spirit in which they were issued—as unpretentious essays, spreading a wide net and gathering in, together with a good deal of small fry, a considerable haul of real food—for those who like the kind of food. A few however of those who have been good enough to read or at least glance at one or another of these essays have missed the point of them and gratitude seems to require that some effort should be made to explain. Two or three e.g. have been struck by what has seemed to them the earnest seriousness with which certain matters have been treated and one has even gone so far as to reproach the writer with “conscientious scholarship.” Now to have conscientious scholarship is a high ambition but to enjoy the reputation of it on false pretenses is to prove one not a

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conscientious scholar. It seems necessary therefore to say that in setting down things which are absurd on their faces the writer has not always thought it necessary to say that they seemed absurd to him e.g. he does not really believe that Adam actually wrote any of the books ascribed to him.

Again a failure to make clear in the previous volumes that the references to secondary sources were not references to these as authorities but as secondary led a few to the impression that these represented the writer's own sources. It may therefore be explained that most of the researches underlying these essays have been conducted according to the strictest canons of modern method as to sources. Even translations were, and are here, for the most part, used as guides not authorities, although in a plentiful lack of exact knowledge of the Egyptian and Babylonian languages, little attempt has been

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made to compete with the translations of specialists in these languages. Even here, however, thanks to transliterations and the pictorial factor of the Hieroglyphic writing one is able often to control to a certain extent translations where these conflict. Use of and reference to secondary sources are, it is believed, according to correct method for an essay of this sort. References are used only sparingly and chiefly for emphasis or to acknowledge the borrowing of some specially pointed phrase or to indicate that by exception a secondary source is used at this point because the original is not easily accessible. Often they are simply elementary guides for readers to farther reading and study.

ERNEST CUSHING RICHARDSON.

Princeton, New Jersey

September 1914

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INTRODUCTION

What is a library?

It has been suggested and even insisted that the subject of Biblical libraries, like the subject of snakes in Ireland, may be exhausted in the brief statement "there were none." The fact is that there were thousands or even tens of thousands of collections, containing millions of written books or documents in Biblical places in Biblical times.

The key to this paradox lies in the name library. Those who deny that there were libraries, do not deny the fact but the name for the fact. There were plenty of collections of written documents, organized for convenient use, they say, but they were not libraries, they were ar-

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chives. There is no dispute thus as to the facts.

Where there is no disagreement as to the facts, it looks like hunting for trouble to quarrel about the name for these facts, but there are one or two things which make it worth while in this case not so much to dispute as to try to convert those who eschew the word library and overwork the word archive. In the point of view of this essay a library is any collection of books kept for use and an archive is strictly speaking a collection of seldom used public documents. Assyriologists on the other hand, it is alleged, are agreed that a library is nothing less than "an extensive literary collection" or "literary archive," while any ancient collection is an archive. In their point of view all collections are archives; "business archives," "royal archives," "school archives," "temple archives," "palace archives" and "literary archives" or libraries. From the one

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point of view archive is one kind of a library, from the other library is one kind of an archive.

Now one may venture to say and expect to prove that library is the right general term for all collections and archive wrong for many of the collections for which it is used, but if Assyriologists wish to invert terms they are within their rights and no great harm is done if they observe the rules of the game. The "right" meaning in the case of words is simply that which on the whole consists best with its historical, technical and popular use. There is nothing specially sacred, magical, or fixed about it. It is often little more than the best word—and both right and best may differ with the audience or occasion.

Words at bottom are mainly matters of agreement; white may even be called black and black white in an understood code not only without harm but with advantage to the purpose. Mathematicians may use

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“a” for library and “b” for archive or vice versa, and metaphysicians, sometimes, even use common words in a way which is opposite to the common sense and no great harm is done, for if any one, other than a metaphysician, wishes to read them, it is well understood that he must go about it as with any other foreign language.

In the same way it may be argued that the word library having been “preëmpted by the general consensus of Assyriologists for Ashurbanapal’s collection” and being agreed on by them as being an “extensive literary collection” only, they cannot be denied its use, even if library science, archival science, history and popular use are not parties to the agreement. Psychologists and Palaeontologists, Neapolitans and Yorkshiremen use, and understand one another better in, their own dialects—why not Assyriologists as well.

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And this would certainly be true if Assyriologists were writing for one another only but their case is a little different in this matter from the case of metaphysicians or cryptographers for the books of these men, unlike those of metaphysicians and mathematicians, are keenly desired to be read by ordinary mortals, the field is one of general interest and the works of these men the very best work done in the field. They have no right, therefore, to write only for one another and their books ought, it would seem, to be written either in the language of science, of history, or of the common folk—and preferably in the vernacular.

Moreover, while the right of a man to use any word in any sense that he pleases, even if it is contrary to the right and common sense, may not be denied, that right does not carry with it the right to deny the right of others to use in the right sense or in the common sense or

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both. The use of a special meaning is one thing, the denial of the ordinary meaning quite another, and this has been the mischief in this case for in the matter of these ancient collections the denial of the name library has, in actual use, quite commonly been taken for a denial of the fact of ancient libraries. The mere use of the word library in a special meaning is one thing, and the denial of the term library to anything but all-literary and big collections is quite another. The casual reader does not go much behind the returns. "So and so says," or "all Assyriologists agree that there were no libraries before Ashurbanapal," are phrases commonly taken to mean, by those not quite familiar with the facts, that there were no collections at all. The layman does not understand that Assyriologists only mean to say that there were no libraries quite so literary or quite so big as that of Ashurbanapal.

The reason given for denying the name

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library to these organized collections of written documents, arranged for public use, is the fear that it will mislead the layman into thinking that these libraries were important collections of systematic treatises like the great modern public libraries but the fact is and the event proves that the shoe is quite on the other foot. In reality the average Bible student will no more be misled by calling a Sumerian collection of tablets a library, than by calling a Biblical ship ship, shovel shovel, or plow plow. No one will mistake Palestinian plows or shovels or ships or books for steam plows, steam shovels, trans-Atlantic steamships or paper-printed books. As a matter of fact, the Bible student is more apt to look for unlikeness than likeness and it is the differences between the customs, costumes, agricultural implements, houses, etc., of those days and those of our days on which popular commentary loves to dwell and in which

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popular study takes most interest. There is no danger therefore that, with proper explanation, the average public library student or Sunday school scholar will not understand quite well that early libraries were different from modern libraries in many ways; that the forms of the books e.g. were different, that the quantity was less and that they naturally did not contain books which were not then written. There is much more danger that they will not understand how very like at bottom these ancient collections of records of private and public business of literature and of learning, organized for public or private use, were to modern libraries, how they played precisely the same rôle up to a certain point in ancient civilization that libraries, public and private, do in the very different environment of modern civilization, and that in New Testament times the numbers even compared favorably with that of many states of the modern civilized world.

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On the other hand not only laymen but professional Bible students have in fact been seriously misled by denial of the title library to these collections. Library is the plain colloquial term for collections of written or printed material and denial of the name has quite generally meant to the non-professional a denial of the fact of very many or very extensive collections of written documents before the libraries of Alexandria or at earliest the time of Ashurbanapal. This in turn leads to a wholly mistaken, often absurdly mistaken mental picture of the environment in which the writers of the Old Testament lived, moved and wrote, and not by lay students alone, by any means.

It need not and cannot be denied that the word library may be and has been used in such a way as to mislead. This is true of most words and true of this word in the field of Assyriology. It is not enough to use the right word, it must

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be used in the right way, at the right time and the right place—in short with the right meaning. Many words have several meanings, all right if used at the right time and place and many things have several names, all right. Any great modern dictionary of any language has thousands of words with from two to a dozen or more carefully distinguished meanings. Sometimes their meanings are quite contrary to one another. This happens so often that some men once even had a theory that all primitive roots mean two opposite things. Here then is an easy way of misleading: and hence we have the pun and the double-entendre—the cheapest form of wit and the cheapest form of insult. Hence also come some forms of sophistry and pose.

Misleading may be unintentional, or intentional. If intentional it may be from malice and so the meanest thing on earth or it may be within the rules of some game

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(baseball, chess, politics, boxing, conundrums) intended perhaps to exercise and train to meet the deceitfulness of the world, the flesh, and the devil and so praiseworthy. Somewhere in between comes misleading for gain with all its shades from avarice to genial affectation. It is hard to find a word which may not innocently mislead or be made to lead astray by the guileful. If e.g. a man on shipboard makes the mistake of letting it get out that he is a "doctor" or a "professor" he may be invited to operate for appendicitis or to preside at Sunday service or give a boxing exhibit for the benefit of seamen's orphans. Of course he is not to blame unless he undertakes the job; a doctor of philosophy is just as good a doctor as a doctor of medicine or divinity and a professor of Assyriology just as good a professor as a professor of boxing—but he is misleading and would be blameworthy if from malice or vanity

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or for gain he should create or allow the wrong impression and try to live up to it.

The word library is no exception to the rule that there may be several dictionary meanings for the same word and all used so as to mislead, in various shades of innocence and reprehensibility. In English, according to the concise Oxford dictionary, there are at least five or six right meanings for the word library—a building for books, a collection of books, a body of persons keeping books, a series, the works used by a certain author.

The London Library and the library of universal knowledge are different kinds of things and the "London Library" is a phrase misleading to those who think of a library as a free municipal library.

The phrase a "Carnegie library" is right by the dictionary but it has "mislead" millions who think of a library as having books. Mr. Carnegie has given hundreds of library buildings (and has thereby made

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the greatest contribution to popular education of any man of his time) but he has given few libraries in the sense of book collections. The John Crerar Library of Chicago, on the other hand, is a superb library which existed for many years in the Field building before it decided on a building of its own. It was the John Crerar Library, but there was no John Crerar library building at all. In the same way thousands of public libraries have no buildings to their names, although of course they are housed somewhere—in a city hall, school building, church.

One of the commonest ways of using a perfectly right word so as to mislead is the verbal pose especially using a word to give a larger or smaller idea than the fact warrants. Why men care to pose will always be a mystery, but there always are those who, on the one hand, like to speak of their palaces as shooting boxes, cottages and camps and those who, on the

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other, like to talk of their little farm houses as villas and country houses. So among books. One man talks grandly about his "library," and is properly laughed at when it turns out that his collection consists chiefly of old school-books and free public documents. Another man with a choice library takes pains to avoid the word library altogether and always speaks of his collection simply as his "books." In both cases it is a pose, and the pose of modesty may be as misleading as the pose of boastfulness,—although counted in much better taste.

Something like the case of the man who talks grandly of his "library" when it consists mainly of old schoolbooks and free public documents is what has sometimes happened among the Assyriologists. A library made up largely of old school-books and public documents has, e.g., it is alleged, been posed to compare with that of Ashurbanapal. Some archae-

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ologists even have talked about a load of broken debris after a fire dumped for a sort of macadam, as a "library." Others dealing with some collection so insignificant as to be a library only in the narrowest technical sense, have called the collection "Library" with an air which claims for it peerage with the best and thereby have misled a few unwary. The word library has thus been used so as to mislead and one does not need to go into the merits of any particular case, to cordially agree with those who urge that "in any event" a "promiscuous use of the term temple library . . . is to be discountenanced . . . as misleading and tending to create confusion."

The remedy for the misleading use of words however is not to use a wrong word or to deny the right word, but to use the right word in the right way—not to deny that a spade is spade or to call shovel spade for fear shovel may be taken for a

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steam shovel, but to call spade spade and steam shovel, steam shovel. The right way to correct the "promiscuous" use of the word library is not to deny that a library is library, or to call it archive but to use the word properly and avoid misleading use—qualifying or using neutral words when qualification is due.

A case in point is the first sentence of this introduction. To say that there were "thousands and even tens of thousands of archives" in Bible lands in Bible times is true, and to say that there were "thousands and even tens of thousands of libraries" is correct, but in both cases a flat use of the words in the beginning, before explanation is made, is misleading, for not all collections are archives and many of the collections consist of half a dozen, more or less, tablets, or little rolls, in a jar or box and all of these business documents. In a loose modern sense these collections are archives and in a narrow

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technical sense they are libraries but used flatly the words would mislead and it is better, therefore, to use the neutral word "collections."

The real rub, however, is as to what is the proper use of a word. Assyriologists claim that the "proper and ordinary sense" of the word library is a "large literary collection" of not less than a thousand volumes, while others say that even if a man should remark that "Smith's library consisted solely of an odd volume of Shakespeare" he would be quite well understood by the average man while he would not be understood if he should say that Smith had a "small literary archive" consisting of an odd volume of Shakespeare. The only way to judge any such case is to confront the two uses and compare them with the facts as to usage past and present, and the first thing in this case is to set forth fully the Assyriological usage.

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The very best contribution to the clear understanding of just where the early collections of cuneiform tablets were and what they consisted of, is an article by Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr. The article is controversial in purpose and in the pursuit of this purpose the terms in question are used freely according to the usage of the Assyriologists and definitions made. Since neither the argument nor the constructive conclusions of the article are affected by the question of terms and even the conclusion as to terms is put in an alternative form one horn of which may be cordially accepted by most, it will not be invidious to take largely the phrases of this article as a text for this discussion of terms.

The author himself says that "the *main* issue is not (even) the existence or non-existence of a temple library at Nippur, but the method pursued—in the endeavor to establish the existence of such

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a "library." The matter does in fact not hinge on the use of the terms library and archive at all for the cause of the controversy himself seems to have accepted this very definition of a library as a "large literary collection" and the real trouble seems to come from just this—not from calling a small or non-literary collection library but from trying to make a certain collection live up to this definition by exaggerating the literary contents (or so it is alleged) from a few hundreds or thousands to 23,000 tablets. In discussing thus the terms agreed upon by all wings of the Assyriologists it is not necessary to go at all into the merits of this very pretty controversy which reminds of older days when men took their religion as seriously as they do their scholarship now.

It appears then from this article that Assyriologists while recognizing the vast quantities of collections of records large and small are agreed in restricting the

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term library to "literary collections" (p. 174) then to "large literary collections" and then to the library of Ashurbanapal. Many collections are large but not literary. They are mainly or wholly public documents. Lagash e.g. with 30,000, is wholly official documents. Sippara with 50,000 and Nippur whether with 28,000 or 60,000 are mixed. All these exceed the 20,000 of Ashurbanapal but are not libraries because they are not literary.

Many collections on the other hand are literary but they are altogether "too small in extent" (p. 148) to be called libraries; the religious texts "may have amounted in some of the larger temples to several hundred tablets but there is no good reason for believing (p. 174) that the literary tablets even in the Marduk collection ranged high into the thousands." There is no collection therefore except that of Ashurbanapal big enough to merit the name of library.

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A library, therefore, to be a library, must be both literary and big, "an extensive literary collection—a real library"—"very extensive literary collection," a "large literary archive." It appears farther that even this is not enough and in order to be a library a collection must not only be large and literary but it must be like that of Ashurbanapal, in being gathered from many centers "since an extensive literary collection—a real library—could only be brought together by gathering" besides local texts "such as were used elsewhere."

"In other words (p. 141) the only library as yet found in the Mesopotamian excavations is the royal collection of Nineveh" (p. 149). This is the "only collection . . . that merits the name of library, in the sense in which that term is ordinarily understood" (p. 70) or "at all events the term having been preëmpted by the general consensus of Assyriologists

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for Ashurbanapal's collection we have no right to apply" to anything but one just like it and "the term library" should be restricted to the collection made by Ashurbanapal.

A library then "in the proper and ordinary sense of the term" or "in the sense in which that term is ordinarily understood" (by Assyriologists) is very big, wholly literary, gathered from various geographical sources, not associated with schools. No such library is known save that of Ashurbanapal and no other is likely save for Babylon—(Marduk temple) and perhaps Borsippa (Nebo temple).

The negative or polemical "conclusions to be drawn from the data available" are that "the term 'Library' should be restricted to the collection made by Ashurbanapal" or "at all events, a promiscuous use of the term 'Temple Library' to describe the contents of the temple ar-

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chives in Babylonia is to be discountenanced . . . as positively misleading." With this latter alternative conclusion and with the constructive conclusions no one will quarrel: it is only the conclusion that no library smaller than that of Ashurbanapal or less literary should be called library, which needs attention.

The constructive conclusions are as follows: (1) the temples had extensive archives, (2) these contained primarily temple business records including letters, (3) they contained also private business documents, contracts, deeds, wills, etc., while private business firms kept their own collections of records as well and in their own counting rooms, (4) temples had schools and (5) these schools had their outfit for instruction, sign lists, exercises, etc., also religious texts, and these ranged perhaps into the hundreds if not thousands, (6) religious texts used in the temple were also kept if not in the schools,

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then in some other part of the temple area.

Now if this introduction were simply the arguing of a case one might almost drop the matter with this review. It can hardly be supposed that faced squarely with their own boiled down statements the Assyriologists themselves will stand for any of the propositions as to bigness, literary nature, various origin or separateness from schools. The matter is too obvious. The Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1912, for example, recognizes 10,329 public high school libraries having an average of only 600 volumes each. In many states the average high school library according to this is under 300 volumes. In the same report again statistics are given of 458 special school "libraries" of which 79 have 200 volumes or under and 29 have actually under 100 volumes. There are thousands of public libraries in the United States

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with less than 300 volumes which have state and national recognition as libraries and tens of thousands called libraries less formally.

The United States government also recognizes officially a library of exclusive public documents, while, in this era of "special libraries," there are not a few which consist almost exclusively of business documents, public or private, railway reports, insurance company reports, government and state documents, law reports, collections of statutes and the like.

Size of course does not count. The smallest man is yet a man and even the smallest private library is yet a library. When Mr. Fleming said that his "whole library, like that of Abraham Lincoln, consisted of a Bible and a blue-back speller" nobody either misunderstood or objected. Indeed a small man may be much more of a man than a big one, and a library of 10 volumes more valuable

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than another of 10,000—for every purpose. So of documents.

“Business” character too does not count; many a farmer’s library is made up almost wholly of free government documents and railroad literature: and it may indeed be a rather large, well selected and useful library at that. Certainly neither collection is a man’s “archive.”

So again, and obviously, locality does not count: There must be many libraries in Italy, say, containing only Italian books printed in Italy.

On the other hand the constructive conclusions show that every temple had at least a collection of school textbooks and reference books, amounting in some cases to several hundred tablets, with a collection of religious texts amounting also at least to several hundred texts, while in the case of the largest collection, there may have been thousands (although not ranging high into the thousands). In brief,

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thus there was at least one school library and one theological library as well as one archive, or record office in the broad sense, in every city.

It appears, therefore, that on the face of it in "the proper and ordinary sense of the term" there were at least two libraries in every place even if an archive is not a library, and it may confidently be hoped that Assyriologists will accept this much at least.

The main purpose of this introduction being, however, not to prove anybody wrong but to set forth as clearly as possible the actual situation and the ground for actual usage of terms, it is worth while to go on with the discussion even if it could be hoped that the Assyriologists were converted by the statement of their own case and to try to find what the real situation and usage of terms are.

The first move always in choosing between names is to draw a line around the

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facts to be named. The facts in this case are permanent records, records of business, of public events, of thinking on religious or human subjects; records of action and records of thought, in short acts and humane literature. Time was when men made no records and another long time was perhaps when, if he made them, he did not try to keep them beyond an immediate purpose of use. Some 6,000 or so years ago he began to keep them longer, either for refreshing his own remembrance or for the information of his neighbors or descendants. The history of the keeping of these records throws a good deal of light on the state of the civilization of any given period and on the conditions in which new records were produced during that time. These records were kept in small or large groups as the case may be, the groups naturally growing larger as the amount worth keeping grew.

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After the facts have been gathered up the name is chosen. In the course of the five or six thousand years in which record collections are known to have been kept various names have been used for them. Every record collection implies in itself not only a collection, but a place, and a keeper. Some names bear on one of these three factors and some on another. One of the earliest names is "the books." This is used often today when one man invites another to come and look at his "books." It survives also in the collection of books in a counting-room, which are commonly spoken of as the firm's "books." It survives also where the librarian is called "Keeper of the books" and in the word Bookkeeper. The word "book" is used equally of tablet, roll or codex (bound book).

Another early term was the "House of books" in the sense of the receptacle in which books are kept. This was a usage

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in Assyrian, Egyptian, Hebrew and other Semitic collections. This may come out at the same point with "counting-house" for the word for book in Hebrew is of close kin to numbering and the earliest books were probably counting records—at least the earliest known kinds of records, quipu, abacus, and notched stick are chiefly number records. "House" meant anything which contained anything, as house of ink=inkstand. It applied, therefore, to chest, room or whole building.

Very close to the house of books is the "bookcase," the commonest word for library since it came into common use in the Greek form *bibliotheke*. The "case" in English and "capsa," the common word for small book box in Latin from which the English "case" is derived, are just the "house" of books idea i.e. that which contains the books. The Greek idea comes out at the same point but by way of the idea of putting things away

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or in something or "laying up" treasures rather than the thing in which they are put. It is thus the place or thing into which things are put. It is in fact probably an abbreviation of the very common phrase in Greek Treasury (Apotheke) of books. The account of the burning of Alexandria says that the fire consumed the treasuries (or magazines) both the treasury of food supplies and the treasury of books. As the Semitic "house" meant any receptacle from a house of ink or inkstand, to a temple treasury so the "theke" meant anything from a small box to a whole building.

In the history of libraries, as of all things, small things come first; chest before room, room before building but both these words cover the case of all and are used for all sizes. Many other words for boxes such as narthex (used for Alexander's Homer), kibotion or kibotos (common of old and used in modern Greek

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for a postal street letter box) and various words for book pouch or book bag (surviving in the lawyers Green bag) book jar and the like also, like house and chest, refer to the place or receptacle in which the books are kept.

Another common Greek term "Bibliophylakion" points probably to the keeper (Phylax, keeper or guardian). In derivation and use it might perhaps refer only to the protection of the walls or boxes against thieves, moth, or rust, but the "Nomophylax" historically preceded the "Nomophylakion"—the keeper was before the "keep." This "phylactery of books" or "book-ward" or "book-keep," in any event, has a reminiscence in a term which is still used in the British Museum, e.g., for librarian, the "Keeper of books."

The collection of official records came also to be known as "archive" because it was naturally kept in the archeion or administration building of the government,

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to begin with. It is commonly supposed that "archives" have something to do with the "archaic" and are archives because ancient, but in fact they are simply collections of government documents. The archive as a special building for records came, of course, later still.

In Latin times while various particular words for book chest, book pouch, book cupboard and the like were in use, as they were in Greek, the general words were reduced practically to *bibliotheca*, pointing rather to building and *librarium* (*libraria*, *liberaria*) pointing to the book collection, whether library or book shop. Both are used of public documents as well as of literary works. The modern words are all derived from these two in diverging lines of evolution. In nearly all the continental languages the word for library is the one which harks back to the Greek "book treasury," *bibliotheke*, while the Latin *librarium* (*libraria*) is used for the

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book business or book shop. At the time of the Reformation both English and German used both library and bibliotheke for the book collection, or the place in which it was kept, but in the course of time bibliotheke has become obsolete for library in English and Liberey practically obsolete for library in German.

Historically speaking thus the word library was applied to any collection of records whether of objects, acts or ideas and archive only to those documents issued by government authority and still kept by the government itself. Even these collections of public documents were technically called "book treasury" (bibliotheke) or "book-phylactery" in Greek times, more often than archive. As a matter of fact there were few of the well-known public "libraries" in the ancient world, under whatever name, which did not contain a strong admixture of public records, even if they were not exclusive public records.

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Even the Nineveh library, which all accept as library, was half archival. On the other hand in rare cases only have literary works been in a collection called "archive." and where they have, it has often been "archive" in a different sense, drawn from the false etymology, "archaic" or, as with Jerome, the equally false "arca," or ark, a book chest. The only "literary archive" is a record collection of copyright books—and these are commonly kept in public libraries (Library of Congress, British Museum, Bodleian, etc.) not in public archives.

When it comes to modern usage the distinction is sharply drawn not only between the library and the archive but between the archive and the registry office. Archive and Record office both deal with Public records but the archive, as it is said, has to do with finished matters, registry with current business. It is in this sense that a Gov-

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ernment archive in Washington is being proposed to keep such matters from the administrative departments as being out of active use are apt to be put out of reach or destroyed.

In the modern world to be sure one commonly associates archives also with folded documents and rolls, or with written documents and registers, while libraries are associated with bound and printed books but this is artificial and in the ancient world there was no such distinction between books and papers. For that matter, of course, many modern public documents—reports, proceedings, bills, laws, reports of cases, etc., etc., are printed and bound, even if not published, and if all the papers of an archive were printed and bound it would be clear enough that they were books and that an archive was simply a library of authenticated public documents. Some of the technical treatises on archives, in

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fact, plainly define archive as one kind of a library.

The facts thus with which we have to deal are millions of collections of books or documents, large or small, kept for use as distinguished from those kept for sale or kept for the paper mill. The historical use and the technical modern archival use agree that all of these are libraries and only official documents, kept officially, archives.

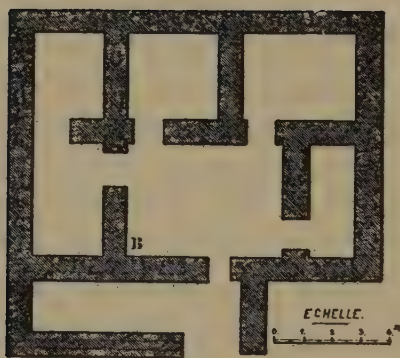
The modern common sense too agrees with the historical sense and the technical sense in saying that a collection of books for use, large or small, official or humane, is a library, and that in most cases it is not an archive. Imagine, e.g., anyone going into any one of a hundred thousand schools in America and telling the scholars that their tiny school library, or perhaps their village free public library of 125,199,255, or 268 volumes (Gladstone, Garton Road, Rosenhayn, and

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Mount Carmel, New Jersey, in 1905) is not a library but a small literary archive!

A library is thus a book or a collection of books kept for use, and one kind of book kept for use is the original or official copy of a public document. Collections of these are archives, but they are none the less libraries, as would appear to all, if all the documents were made, as some are, in printed book form.

It may at least be confidently hoped that with this full explanation no one will object to the use of the word library in its "right" sense in this essay, if care is taken not to make "a Bible and New England Primer" library pose as the British Museum Library.



SCHOOL-LIBRARY AT SIPPARA. GROUND-PLAN FROM
SCHEIL P. 33
PLATE 2

CHAPTER I

The Babylonian Period

The period of Biblical history may be counted as extending from the beginning of written human history, about the first dynasty of Egypt or say 3400 B.C. (or 4200) more or less, until the death of the last of those who figure in the books of the New Testament or say the middle of the second century A.D.

The Biblical story of course, and the Biblical story of libraries in a way, extends from the creation, which is by the "Word," to the last Judgment, which, according to the account, is based on a collection of books. Not all of the events told in the Biblical writings have however yet happened, others, being parables, may never have happened and others, while

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they may be true, are not yet quite history and never will be if the critics can help it. It is one thing to be true, another thing to be believed to be true and yet another to be history. Moreover many other things are related of Biblical persons and times which are not in the Bible, some true and many which could not be true even if they were in the Bible. Some of them are in some Bibles (i.e. the Apocrypha of the Septuagint and Vulgate) some are in Josephus and the more or less credible secular historians such as Berosus and many are in Talmudic sources or in that wild riot of pseudepigraphic Greek and Latin literature of Hellenic and Early Christian times.

This latter literature especially fills in the missing detail of early Genesis with unstinting hand and contributes more alleged detail of the libraries before history began, than was known of real libraries, up to very recently, for three

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thousand years after real history begins—but secular historians fall little short of the others in unfettered imagination, especially when it comes to figures. All this legendary matter is treated in sundry works which will be mentioned in a later chapter on *Bibliography* but the alleged facts do not belong to history and need not be discussed here.

When all has been said the outline maps of Biblical history and of human history are pretty nearly one up to six centuries or so B.C. and indeed to the end of the New Testament except for the omitted period between the Old and the New Testament. The tenth chapter of Genesis is commonly taken, even by exacting critics, to be “historical,” whether it is accurate or not, and its field is the known world, while the history of the chosen people itself takes from Mesopotamia to Palestine, Palestine to Egypt, back again to Palestine, back to Babylon and yet

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again to Judea, and the New Testament, beginning with Judea, covers the whole Greek and Roman world. Biblical library history and world library history are, therefore, not far apart as to their boundaries, from the very beginning until the end of Bible times.

The main line of Bible history until about 2000 B.C. has little or nothing to do with Palestine, Egypt, or even Syria; it is almost wholly Mesopotamian. Up to the time of Abram's emigration from Ur by way of Haran, the history of Biblical libraries and the history of Babylonian and Sumerian libraries is one and the same. It was, moreover, a place and period full of library interest. Most of the cities mentioned in the Bible in this period are now known to have had collections of books in those days and these very works, thanks to their burial, continued together until very recent times, when a couple of hundreds of thousands

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or so of them have been dug up and dispersed over two continents.

Ur and Haran were probably both distinctly literary cities for they were centers of Moon-god worship and the Moon-god everywhere, Egypt and Greece as well as Babylonia, was a patron of literature, and in general the number of libraries and the quantity of tablets which date from Abram's time or earlier, found in the excavated places, is a matter of perennial wonder. Lagash or Shirpurla (Tello) and her great rival Umma (Jôkha) have yielded enormous quantities, Fara and Abu Hatab many and they were nearly all of this period for the cities were early destroyed and not rebuilt. Enormous quantities came also from Nippur, but not all early. Sippara (Abu Habba), Babylon and Borsippa have yielded thousands of tablets of the period. Warka (Erech) Mukayyar (Ur) Abu Shahrain (Eridu) and others have yielded something and

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scores of places are untouched or waiting to be dug deeply enough to reach these ancient strata.

The one or two hundreds of thousands of tablets recovered are thus only a small fraction of the probably still existing tablets of the pre-Abrahamic period which must amount to several millions.

At most places, early or late, there seems not to have been one collection merely, but several, some found in connection with schools, some with administration buildings or store houses, many small collections of family documents under the floors of private houses or in graves. Sometimes too a collection seems to be a mere dump of waste tablets, often broken as of no further use or by the accidents of fire and military wasting.

Among the more interesting of the libraries which have so far been excavated of this period are those of Tello (Lagash or Shirpurla), Sippara and Nippur. The

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first of these affords a type of the business collection and the second of a school collection—although there were certainly other collections at both places. Nippur has almost every sort of a collection known to the times and the times extend from earliest to very late.

At Lagash most of the tablets were found in a small hill about 650 feet from the palace hill. They were found piled in regular layers five or six deep in two groups of narrow brick galleries which had low ledges on both sides, on which were beds of tablets. De Sarzac and Heuzey compare these to the little store-rooms where the surplus votive offerings of ancient temples were stored. Some 30,000 tablets were found here mostly of the Ur dynasty period and so close before Abrahamic times but some antedating the first Sargon (2750, 3200 or ?) even. These are wholly business records “dealing for the most part with the accounts,

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the sacrifices, the officials and employees . . . of the temple of Ningirsu . . . and other temples" (Jastrow).

The vast majority of the 50,000 or so tablets from Sippara (Abu Habba) were temple archives, public and private business documents like those of Lagash, but they include "some hundreds" at least of "literary texts," hymns, prayers, incantations, a deluge narrative and other religious texts as well as a school outfit.

This school collection at Sippara has a great interest. Being connected with a school it identifies the ground plan of one of these ancient schools and its contents exhibit the method of teaching so fully that as Scheil says "it was not hard to unravel the system which prevailed in the teaching of reading and writing in Babylonia under the first dynasty of Babylon"—a subject which has been continued from the school collections of Nippur in the University of Pennsylvania publications.

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The school was, as Scheil says, not large but very well situated, facing and not far from the temple and, if small, it had at least a certain amplitude, as its rooms were four metres high. One of the tablets found recited that he who excels at school shall shine like the sun. It was in this building that Scheil found, in one of the rooms, in a sort of rectangular bin, an enormous compact mass of tablets of all sorts, Sumerian hymns, syllabaries, contracts, all of about the time of Hammurabi and many of them giving evidence of having been used as exercises. He then searched every corner of the building and found fine tablets in all the rooms but none in the adjoining rooms of other buildings. It seemed clear, therefore, that here was a distinct school and school library.

From the libraries of Nippur more than 60,000 tablets, it is alleged, have been so far recovered in several archives and only

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a small part of the probable contents of the mounds has yet been found. Although the records of excavations here were somewhat lacking in detail at first, they have, thanks to the fortunate circumstance of a lively controversy which brought out all that there was remembered, been so set forth as to be perhaps the most instructive of all as to the library situation of the region.

The following from Peter's Nippur gives a vivid glimpse of the possibilities of excavation: "Here, in one room of a house of unbaked brick, about ten metres long by five metres broad, there had evidently been a depository of tablets; these had been placed around the walls of the room on wooden shelves, the ashes of which we found mixed with the tablets on the floor. We took out of this room thousands of tablets, of unbaked clay. For four days eight gangs were taking out tablets from this room, as fast as they



NIPPUR. 1. 2. 3. ROOMS WITH CLAY LEDGES HAVING
TABLETS. HILPRECHT P. 523
PLATE 3

THE BABYLONIAN PERIOD

could work, and for four days the tablets were brought into camp by boxfuls, faster than we could handle them."

The most abundant and interesting finds here were on a low mound, "Tablet Hill," close to, but not adjoining, the temple. Here, on the side nearest the temple, was a series of rooms with a school equipment of tablets and on the other side a great collection of documents relating to temple business, all of the ancient period. Farther away across the canal were found the large and most interesting records of a private banking firm and under a Parthian palace, another archive, of the Kassite period. Above the level of the rooms on Tablet Hill were various nests of tablets of later period and such nests of various periods were found in many spots all over the city. The business collection of the Temple archive contained both Temple business documents and private business docu-

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ments deposited there as in a record office, as was the case at both Lagash and Sippara.

The school collection (begging the question whether it contained also the liturgical collection of the temple) contained writing exercises, syllabaries, multiplication tables, etc. There were also a number of literary works and a few of these at least were of extraordinary literary interest as has been shown in recent publications. The temple collections were in short "a complete parallel to the discoveries at Abu Habba" (Jastrow). Altogether we have here at Nippur, Temple archives, Palace archives, private business archives, private family archives, a school library and a collection of religious literature.

Perhaps the best single detail which Nippur contributes to our knowledge of the early libraries is the store room of the period of Sargon I with ledges on which

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a few tablets were still remaining, showing that this treasury had been used for tablets as well as other treasures before 2750 (3800) B.C. The ledges are often mentioned in connection with other places but here we have a concrete example, of the earliest date, of what a treasury library really was like. The treasure room was 32 feet long by 7 feet wide and between 5 and 6 feet high with ledges running around at a height apparently of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The remaining walls are only 3 feet high but must have been to begin with "between 5 feet and 6 feet" or more likely 7 feet or more. Not the least interesting thing about it is the fact that it is interpreted by another similar treasure room directly above and resting on the ruins of this. This upper room which was built on the lower sometime before 2500 B.C. (3500?) is 36 feet long and $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. "It had, some $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the floor of

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stamped earth, a ledge of crude bricks $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, which was capped by a layer of baked bricks and extended completely around the four walls of the room." It would appear from the not very detailed description (Hilprecht p. 386) that both of these treasure rooms were sunk below the earth level by about the height of the ledge ($2\frac{1}{2}$ feet). This long narrow room with ledge, interprets and is interpreted by the treasure rooms of Lagash, Boghaz Keuei, Nineveh, and the many temple or palace treasuries which have no connection with book storage. The study of these is only in its infancy but this one may stand at least for a frequent type. Sometimes where tablets on these ledges appear mixed with ashes or broken jars, it suggests that where there are ashes they may have been set on wooden shelves on the ledges in a way reminding of the typical reading room ledge of Roman times or more likely they were in wooden boxes

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on these ledges. Where there are jar fragments they were probably in clay vases on these ledges. In the use of such rooms for the storage of oil and wine they were probably floored across with wood in which huge jars were set to their necks. The clay jar was one of the common receptacles for tablets in Assyria and was commonest of all apparently for the small collections of family tablets such as were found often at Nippur apparently buried under the floor of a private house.

It appears thus that already in Abraham's time and long before, the system was in full operation which leads one to expect in every city both public and private document collections, religious collections and school collections.

CHAPTER II

The Patriarchal period

From Abraham's emigration out of Haran to Jacob's emigration to Egypt was, on the face of the Biblical data, mainly a time of wandering in Palestine, but this was not wholly nomad nor wholly Palestinian. Whether there were libraries in Palestine at this time or not, the patriarchs were all in close personal contact with the library lands of Babylonia and Egypt. Abraham on his first visit to Palestine hardly more than passed through on his way to a long visit in Egypt. Familiar himself with both Mesopotamia and Egypt, his son Ishmael married an Egyptian, his son Isaac a Mesopotamian. His grandson Jacob married two wives from and had himself a twenty years' residence

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in the region. While it does not appear that Isaac lived at any time either in Syria or in Egypt, yet during most of his life all the members of his nearest family; father, mother, wife, son, and son's wives had had from one to three score years' life in the mother country, and he and his wife held themselves aloof from the natives, associating themselves in thought with that land. Moreover it appears that they owned land both at Shechem and Hebron—held from generation to generation and implying (under the circumstances) probably tablet records.

Whether there were public records in this region at this time is another matter, but it would seem that the whole region during the whole period was under the influence of the Babylonian civilization. It was freely traversed by trading caravans, and the Hittite and Mesopotamian records extend at least a little back into

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this period. The recent recognition of the Hittites of Hebron as Hittites, and all the developments as to the Jebusites, Horites, Mitannians, Amorites, together with the fact that about those times the Hittites perhaps actually occupied Babylonia for a little, all contribute to the growing evidence that Palestine had a continuous culture from before Abraham to the Conquest.

Attention has been called by Winckler and others to the very striking resemblance of the legal procedure in the sale of land by the Hittites to Abraham to the regular Babylonian procedure (compare Winckler *Vorderasien* 1913 and Johns' *Babylonian Laws*) and certainly this implies private if not public records while Judah's seal implies probably the same although it may, of course, only have been used for sealing of objects rather than documents.

CHAPTER III

The Egyptian Period

The Egyptian period of Bible history begins with the immigration of Jacob and his sons into Egypt and it ends with the Hebrew Emigration at the Exodus. It fringes back, however, directly to the first visit of Abraham (Genesis 12: 10-20) and indeed to the Mizraim of Genesis 10: 6, while on the other hand it fringes forward through frequent points of contact to the time when Palestine was under the Ptolemies, to the flight of the Virgin, Pentecost, Apollos and the Logia of Jesus.

Already at the time of Abraham's visit 1950-1900 B.C. more or less, libraries had been flourishing in Egypt for a long time. Not merely public records but religious

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texts, medical texts, annals and the like had been common for nearly a thousand years and had possibly existed for about one thousand years before that.

The earliest body of Egyptian literature is the collection of religious literature called the pyramid texts, engraved in the pyramids of the early dynasties, say about 2700 B.C. This is itself inscriptional but it bears abundant witness to the prevalence of writing on papyrus and to collections of religious literature before this time. In a way these texts themselves form a library in stone, they are cumulative collections of long-gathering works and in the compilation of the inscribed texts, it is alleged, the compiler must have had before him an actual collection of texts. Even one who does not read this writing readily can yet recognize the hieroglyphs with pallet ink and roll which imply either leather or papyrus.

The Palermo stone, of about the same



KARNAK. INSCRIPTION OF THUTMOSE III AROUND
CENTRAL ROOMS
PLATE 4

THE EGYPTIAN PERIOD

date as the pyramid texts, is a book of annals and it too has significant indications of book collections long before that date. It indeed incorporates in itself earlier works, if it is not itself, in effect, a collection of annual records. The curious ivory or ebony tablets found in the tombs of the first dynasty and pierced for stringing, or for use as labels, have not been deciphered, but the pictures seem very like the brief statements of the annals and some of the tablets have the year sign. This suggests annual records and sources for the Palermo stone. If these are records of the events of a given year and were strung together, we have not only the evidence of systematically kept records back to 3400 B.C. (which we already have through the Palermo stone itself) but have actual specimens of these "books" and their keeping. Moreover, on the Palermo stone we already have mention of Seshait, afterwards the goddess of

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libraries and at this time even, certainly goddess of number records and architects.

However it may be about collections before 3000 B.C., a full system of kept records appears very soon after. Records are mentioned in the inscriptions from the reign of the Snefru (before 2900 B.C.) and from the time of Kufu (Cheops) who began to reign in 2900 B.C. record collections are mentioned. It is a matter of curious interest too, if not of historical value, that the rebuilders of the temple of Edfu allege (Breasted Hist. p. 113) that they reproduced the temple erected after the plans of Imhotep the architect and patron saint of scribes, who also lived just after 3000 B.C. and Edfu is precisely the temple which of all antiquity has preserved its unmistakable library building to modern times, a little building or room affixed to an inner wall of the temple and inscribed with a catalogue of the chief works contained in it.

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Supposing the claim of the rebuilders to be true, then there is at Edfu the model of a 2900 B.C. or earlier library building. From this time on there are frequent mentions of the king's writings, a scribe, a scribe of the king's writings, a chief scribe of the king's records, and an inferior scribe of the king's records; Henhathor about 2750 B.C., Senezemib about 2675 B.C., Khenu about 2580, Zau 2525 and many others.

About the time of the Pyramid texts themselves, or say 2750 B.C., it appears that the palace library of King Neferikere had medical papyri in portable cases, which shows among other things that the palace library was not merely a business archive.

The time of Abraham's visit to Egypt, i.e., the time of Hammurabi, falls, according to the latest chronologists, between 1950 and 1900. This touches the reign of Sesostri I, Amenemhet III and

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Sesostris II. An inscription of the time of the first Sesostris and by a master of the sacred writings speaks both of the "House of sacred writings" and of the "King's writings" i.e. Temple and Palace archives. The inscription of Knumhotep II at Benihassan in the time of Sesostris II mentions land record archives. It is agreed by modern writers that early Egyptologists are "naïve" to have identified the visit of the thirty-seven Beduin to Egypt in the reign of Sesostris II, which is mentioned in this same inscription, with the visit of Abraham but, according to the most recent chronologists, the visit being in the sixth year of Sesostris fell in the year 1900 and Ibshe and his followers were contemporaries thus of Abraham.

Two hundred or so years after Abraham came the confused period of Hyksos' rule in Egypt, and just before this period, or about 1700, there is a most interesting and specific reference to libraries at Helio-

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polis. King Neferhotep speaking to the "nobles and companions who were in his suite, the real scribes of the hieroglyphs, the masters of all secrets" of the temple of Atum at Heliopolis says that he desires to see the ancient writings of Atum, and his companions advised saying "let thy Majesty proceed to the house of writings and let thy Majesty see every hieroglyph." The account goes on to say that "His Majesty proceeded to the library, His majesty opened the rolls together with his companions. Lo! His Majesty found the rolls of the house of Osiris."

After the 100 year blank of the Hyksos reign the first great inscription, the Coptos decree takes up the system where it left off by decreeing that the name of the banished one shall be taken off from all the registers and all his rights shall be given to his successor and be registered in the temple of Min passing "from son to son and heir to heir."

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Another 100 years, from the expulsion of the Hyksos takes to the "received" date of the Exodus, 1491. Just before this had been the great "feud of the Thutmosids." Queen Hatshepsut and Thutmose III were on the throne. Senmuth, the prophet, was a follower of Queen Hatshepsut and he thought it worthy of record on his tomb "that he had access to all the writings of the prophets."

Rekhmire, too, is of this time and was Vizier of Thutmose III. In "the most important inscription known on the organization of the state under the eighteenth Dynasty," the "Duties of the vizier," Rekhmire gives several interesting library hints. It appears e.g. that documents may be loaned from the various archives if not confidential, and the matter of getting and returning under seal is described. Many of the other details suggest the archival practice of Graeco-

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Roman times. "The land records of the nome are in his Hall" e.g. recalls the land registry, and the periodical revision of the records, in the "library" of each nome. The account of the Inspection of taxes is full of archival suggestion. It is to begin with "made according to the writings of ancient time" and it mentions the Records of Edfu, Ombos, Gebelen, Hermonthis, of the House of Hathor, of Diospolis Parva, Abydos, Itfit, Siut. Many "scribes of the recorders" of various places, including the "fortress of Elephantine" are also mentioned.

These inscriptions give a vivid idea of how fully records were made of every kind of business that was done and in the paragraphs on inspection of Bricklayers and Brickmakers Rekhmire has some remarks of distinct Biblical interest; "Laying the brick in order to build the storehouse," "The taskmaster he says to the builders: The rod is in my hand not to

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be idle," "Captivity which his majesty brought for the works," "Causing vigilance among the conquered." The pictures of brickmakers which accompany include some "clearly Semitic foreigners." Perhaps the most interesting library feature of this record is however the fact that there is a picture of the forty leather rolls, of the law which stood before the judges—the picture thus of a book collection from the fifteenth century B.C.—and a collection of rolls, not tablets.

It is however in connection with the records of Thutmose's Syrian wars that this reign is of unique interest for library history, for in these records we have the various elements of the whole system of annalistic record keeping, grouped and displayed. In brief the records of the campaign were taken day by day on a roll and, with other rolls giving account of commissary and tribute matters, were deposited in the palace library. From both

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sources a regular register was written up on a leather roll and put in the temple library and an epitome of this was in turn published by carving on the walls of the temple. This represents in a nutshell the natural and usual manner and stages of record keeping and publication from that time on.

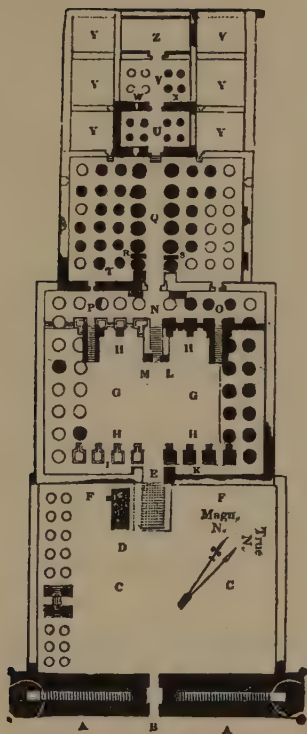
What we have in inscription is chiefly of daily events which "was recorded each day by the day's name" by Thaneni the scribe, and afterwards "recorded upon a roll of leather in the temple of Amon to this day." There were also records of "plunder" which the king expressly orders to be put into inscription as well as other matters of which there is an interesting glimpse given in connection with the supplies furnished to the harbor towns of which it is said "They (the supplies) remain in the daily register of the palace, the statement of them not being given in this inscription not to multiply words."

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Another interesting touch is where the king speaks of enlarging monuments "as a record of the future" which recalls the two motives of record keeping; the utilitarian refreshing of contemporary memory and the preserving for posterity.

If the Khabiri who entered Palestine soon after 1400 B.C. were the Hebrews of the Exodus as many now think (cf. Hall pp. 403-8), and the forty-year periods are "serious figures," then it was in this reign of Thutmose III that Moses and Aaron, the Hebrew scribes under the Egyptian taskmasters and all the scribal judges of the Exodus flourished. They were in short trained in the school of Senmuth, Rekhmire, and Thaneni, and were, in fact, among Rekhmire's officers and trained in the record-keeping methods of that time.

And if, on the other hand, the Exodus was in the time Rameses II or Menerptha, as the date of the cities excavated by



LIBRARY OF OSYMANDYAS. RAMESSEUM (MEM-
NONIUM). REAR ROOMS (U, V, AND ESPECIALLY
Z). FROM WILKINSON V. I P. 77
PLATE 5

THE EGYPTIAN PERIOD

Naville seems to require, and as many still suppose, or if there were two periods of Exodus, then library conditions under which the Hebrews lived in Egypt, were even more advanced, at the Exodus of 1225 more or less than they were at the earlier date for this period between the first Exodus of 1420 more or less and the second Exodus was a period when the record-keeping system—palace libraries, temple libraries, record collections in all business departments, and liberal inscrip-tional publication, was in very full operation. To this period belongs the famous Tel-el-Amarna archival library (about 1360) with its cuneiform letters from Syrian, Palestinian, Babylonian, Mitanian and Hittite regions to Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV.

With the reign of Rameses II is also associated the most famous library of ancient Egypt, the library of King Osymandyas or Rameses II which bore over its

BIBLICAL LIBRARIES

portal according to Diodorus the inscription, "The hospital of the soul," and which further had on its portal the effigy of Seshait with the inscription, "The lady of libraries." The reference to the records and scribes of the records, masters of the books, houses of books and the like, multiplied, and, while some of these refer to registry offices as offices, rather than archives, and some of the masters may be teachers, rather than librarians, they point as a whole to the existence of a great quantity of book collections at that time. Whether, therefore, the Exodus occurred before 1400 or after 1225 or both it can equally be said that during the whole lifetime of those who left Egypt at the Exodus there were probably libraries in all palaces and temples, and the temple libraries were by no means confined to sacred writings or the palace to secular. There were also at least archives or record offices not only in the royal treasury of

THE EGYPTIAN PERIOD

the capital and in all public departments but in all local capitals. Schools for scribes were, it would seem, held in the palace, temple, and treasury libraries. Literature of all sorts was very abundant at the time (Breasted Hist. 1908 p. 320 sq.), and, especially to the point, everything of a business or a documentary sort was organized with great clerical detail. There were, therefore, apparently, at this time millions of documents or books, in hundreds of organized collections which could be called public-archives or libraries, and numberless small collections in the hands of scribes or private owners.

The rolls must have been kept in chests or in small boxes, like the box containing the medical papyri of King Neferikere some 1300 years before, or the "many boxes" at Edfu long after, or the wooden boxes in which some allege that the Amarna records were kept. Many pictures of these book-chests or book-cases

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are found in the monuments (Birt. Buchrolle, pp. 12, 15, etc.).

After the Exodus the Egyptian library history touches the Biblical history indirectly at many points of contact between Egypt and Bible lands. It touches e.g. in Solomon's Egyptian marriage. It touches again with extraordinary bibliographical interest in the matter of the Jewish colony at Elephantine whose documents of about 500 B.C. with the broken clay cases which contained them, have just been unearthed. It touches again in the Ptolemaic rule of Palestine, in the Septuagint and in New Testament times. The archival practice of Ptolemaic and Roman times in Egypt have many features which are linked by continuous chains back to the Viziership of Rekhmire, before the Exodus, while the temple libraries of the later times, Denderah and Edfu, date back to still earlier times and reveal a continuous tradition. In the matter of con-

THE EGYPTIAN PERIOD

tents in particular, the list of sacred books at Edfu, confirmed by list from Denderah and by Clement of Alexandria, gives a clue to the contents of the temple libraries.

CHAPTER IV

The Exodus

Supposing any Egyptian captivity and Exodus at all, then Moses and Aaron and all the Hebrew "officers" ("scribes" or writers) under the Egyptian taskmasters (Ex. 5:6, 10, 14, 15, 19), brought up as they were in the scribal schools, were of course quite familiar with the Egyptian ways of keeping their books. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the first and chief provision which Moses made for the tabernacle was a book-chest for the preservation of the sacred directions given by Jehovah.

It makes little difference whether the account is taken in its final form, divided horizontally into Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua, or

THE EXODUS

divided perpendicularly into J E D P, the fact of the ark and enough of its details are given even in the very oldest sources to show that all the authors, as well as all later writers to Josephus, understood the ark to be a glorified book-chest in or near which were kept written documents: the tables of stone, the inscribed rod, and all the testimony given from the Mercy-Seat which formed its lid, and perhaps the Book of Deuteronomy. The ark is in fact much the size and shape for a portable bookcase, and the LXX translation renders the word by an ordinary technical Greek word for the book-chest (*kibōtos*, cf. Birt *Buchw.* 248-9). It appears also to have been the later Hebrew word for book-chest (cf. *Jew E* 2: 107 sq.), the use of the word "tebah" having perhaps arisen from the same spirit which forbade pronouncing the word *Jehovah*.

It is tempting to believe that this was not only a chest with lid for the tables,

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etc., but with compartments in the side for large leather rolls like those represented on the Jewish glass work. These however, although among the very earliest known pictures of the book-chest with side opening (armarium), are of course much later (Birt. 263-4), and it would be rash to say that putting Deuteronomy "in the side of the ark" refers to something of this sort, although it fits so perfectly. It fits moreover the circumstances of the refinding of Deuteronomy. When the old chest, with lid pierced to receive coin contributions, was opened to take out the money, the book was found at the same time. If this was not the case, a collection of book-chests is indicated, Deuteronomy being, like the Philistine mice, kept in a separate chest beside the ark. Those who wrote these documents thus clearly had in mind that the ark was first of all a book-chest, and since this much belongs to both J and E it seems equally



BOOK BOXES FROM EGYPT. FROM BIRT BUCHROLLE
P. 15
PLATE 6

THE EXODUS

clear that the historical fact agrees with what would be expected in the case of fugitives from Egypt at this time.

At all events the alleged contents of this book-chest were precisely what was called for by Egyptian practice; (1) the individual-roll oracles, laws, legal decisions sanctioned by taking up to Jehovah, inventories, etc., presumably sewed or pasted together into larger rolls, (2) the digested abstract of these, Deuteronomy, laid up by or in the side of the ark, in the tabernacle like the leather roll of Thutmose III in the temple, and (3) the publication of this by inscription as provided for by Moses and in complete analogy with the temple inscription of Thutmose.

It is a far cry from the meteoric fragment or idol, which some have devised as the sole contents of this ark, to this well equipped chest of official records made day by day after the Egyptian fashion of

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Thaneni, but this is what the documentary sources call for and what is natural to the alleged historical circumstances. Moreover, there are two considerations which seem quite conclusive to one who is looking at the matter from the standpoint of the history of libraries, and both of these seem to a student of documents as documents obvious as soon as mentioned. In the first place the greater part of Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers can be readily divided up into the brief original documents, of a kind, and with introductions, suitable to the time and circumstances. These are strung together as whole documents often with little or no running narrative connection—the narratives themselves being largely short paragraphs, i.e. narrative documents complete in themselves. No one compiling this material, five or six hundred years later, from miscellaneous material, would possibly have chosen this registerial form or have been able to carry

THE EXODUS

it out. It would most likely have taken the very different form of Kings and Chronicles, which are annals founded on such registers and not registerial in form as these are.

On the other hand as a matter of textual criticism it is evident that copies of such register transmitted in two geographical groups—Ephraemitic and Judaic say—"Midrashed" from time to time, after the fashion in which mediaeval manuscripts were provided with scholia, mutilated and restored, would furnish just the material which analysis shows that the editors found at hand for successive redactions about 800, 650, and 500 B.C.

Without dogmatism, therefore, but also without reserve, it may be said that from the standpoint of the care and transmission of written documents, the documents themselves show that their own statements as to their own preservation are true, i.e., that in substance and form many

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of these documents are contemporaneous with the events alleged, and that they must have been kept in some sort of a portable bookcase. This implies, of course, the truth of some sort of an Exodus, as the logical end of the mere fact of kept written documents.

Returning to the conditions in Egypt at the time of the Exodus, and there are two or three things which tend to confirm the assertions of Exodus, Numbers and Deuteronomy as to the great number of scribes (writers) and the record keeping of the Exodus. Whatever the number of descendants of Jacob in Egypt at the time of the Exodus may have been, they had, all through the reign of Thutmose III, been recruited annually from their kindred and neighbors in Palestine and Syria—by captives and tribute slaves. In the first campaign there were 2,503 such recruits including at least forty-four nobles. In the second campaign, the chiefs

THE EXODUS

of Retenu hastened to send; among other tribute, a chief's daughter with her thirty slaves and sixty-five other slaves. This went on yearly and what with "tribute" and "booty" from two or three hundred to two or three thousand were added each year. In the eighth campaign for example, there were included in the booty three princes and their thirty wives, eighty nobles (or freeman) and 606 slaves; in the tribute were 513 slaves.

This state of things was still going on in the Amarna period. Often, and perhaps as a system, the young children of Syrian princes were held as hostages and educated in the Egyptian schools—and these, it is well known, were open in some measure to poor as well as rich. The Hebrew scribes under the Egyptian taskmasters as described in the book of Exodus are thus not only natural but inevitable. The chances are that not only Eldad, Medad, and the Seventy Elders

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who are called scribes, were scribes, but that all the commanding officers, captains of hundreds and captains of thousands were also.

This situation, too, accounts for a great mixed multitude who would take the opportunity to get out of Egypt and for the sudden appearance of Joshua and Caleb, two young Caananite Princes, the former from the beginning apparently Moses' chosen amanuensis.

Another fact worth noting is that the records of Thaneni, like those of the Exodus, were made while on the journey and so transported in some book chest of the general nature of the Ark.

Altogether, the historicity of the Ark as a book chest may be accepted as reasonable in itself and evidenced by both lines of documentary tradition whether the documents were transmitted orally or in writing.

CHAPTER V

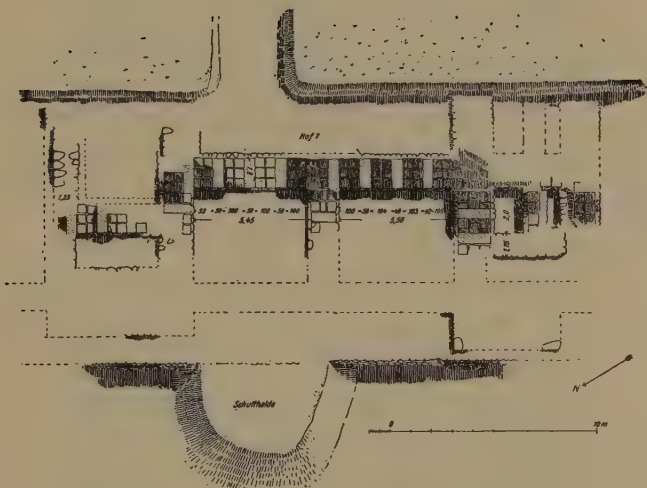
Palestine at the Conquest

The evidence from Egyptian, Babylonian, Mitannian, Amorite, and Hittite documents, shows the existence of official chanceries and by implication of archives throughout the whole region of Syria and Palestine at the time when the "Hebrew" invasion of about 1400 B.C. began (Winckler, Tel-el-Amarna Tablets). Whether the Exodus was at this time or a century or two later is not very material at this point, for these conditions doubtless lasted until the Hebrew conquest whenever it was. The Tel-el-Amarna letters and the tablets from the Hittite archives at Boghaz Keuei (Winckler D O G Mitt. 1907, No. 35) include actual letters from the princes, elders, and gov-

BIBLICAL LIBRARIES

ernors of dozens of places, scattered all over this region from Egypt to the land of the Hittites and the Mitannians. These places include among others Jerusalem, Damascus, Tyre, Sidon, Acco, Ashkelon, Gaza, Lachish, Keilah and Aijalon.

The Hittite records include among other things two significant treaties with the Amorite princes of this region. Moreover these letters and treaties from the Egyptian and Hittite archives contain references to other letters, treaties, and treaty negotiations, as where the King of Babylonia rejects overtures of alliance against Egypt from the Canaanite princes. On the other hand, some of the Amarna letters are written not to the king but by one prince to another, and still others contain references to many letters received by Canaanite princes from Egypt or from one another. There is also record from other sources (Breasted Records) of letters being forwarded



BOGHHAZ KEUEI. CITADEL ARCHIVE. FROM PUCH-
STEIN P. 26
PLATE 7

PALESTINE AT THE CONQUEST

through the Egyptian frontier to Syria, and some at least of these governors of Tyre seem to have been native princes.

The fact that the princes of Palestine sent letters and made treaties, or even the fact that they received communications does not in itself prove that archives were kept, nor does the fact that all the nations around, Egypt and Babylon, Hittites and Mitannians, had such archives, itself prove that Palestine had. It is however, *prima facie* evidence and it does not wholly lack corroborative evidence. The annals of Thutmose III e.g. (Breasted 2:204 sq. § 483), speak of annual contracts with the chiefs of Lebanon as to imposts and similar agreements with all the "harbor towns" of Syria and Palestine as to supplies (Breasted §§ 510, 519, 535, 557, cf. 596). A part of the endowment of some of the temples were these annual imposts from Palestinian cities which give a regular specified an-

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nual income to the temple. These contracts for such and such supplies annually as well as agreements for annual tribute imply, of course, records by the princes as to what they were due to furnish each year whether for use of the harbor towns or for the temples in Egypt, and the fact that such records were actually kept has highly pertinent illustration in the familiar story of Wenamon. When long after this (1100 B.C.) the Egyptian envoy attempted to assert apparently this very right of the temple of Amon over Lebanon, the king of Byblos had the "Journal of his fathers" brought to him and proved that the kings of Egypt, who of old had got cedar from Lebanon, had not received what they got from his father and grandfather as tribute but had paid roundly for it.

And finally and conclusively as to the existence of at least archival collections at this time, remains of two of such ar-

PALESTINE AT THE CONQUEST

chival libraries have been dug up—one at Lachish and one at Taanach near Megiddo, both dating back to the 14th century B.C., and both containing documents bearing on this region and time.

In brief it appears that every small group of cities, if not “every walled city with its villages,” every “land of a city” in Palestine had its government independent of other cities, and each government its official chancery and archives. At any event, at least a score of such city states are directly suggested—including Mitannian, Jebusite, Hittite, and Amorite cities—as having official archives at the time of the entry of Hebrews into Palestine.

Whether there were temple libraries as well does not appear so clearly from external evidence but may probably be inferred from the names, Debir, and (perhaps) Nebo, as well as from the well-known fact that each of the many

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city-lands must have had its center of worship. When it was thought that writing did not exist to any extent in Palestine before the time of David, it was the fashion to account for the name of the city of "Kirjath Sepher," the "City of Books," by curious *tours de force* of conjectural emendation (Sephûr for Sepher, Tabor for Debir), but with the recent progress of excavation the possibility of the name has been fully established and the insight of Sayce probably justified. Whether Debir implies an oracle or sanctuary or public records ("words"—public acts, proclamations, decrees, etc., including oracles) or something else, it is cross-checked as to one of the cities by other terms in Hebrew and the Greek LXX; "City of Books," "City of Scribes," "City of Instruction," and apparently by the Egyptian which uses the determinative sign for "writing" (HBD I : 577) in connection with this or a neighboring city.

PALESTINE AT THE CONQUEST

This, together with the circumstances of the times as now known, seems to take the matter quite out of the "region of theory" (Macalister HDB² 182) into that of the fact, at least up to the point of recognizing that the city was in some way especially and characteristically connected with books and writing. It apparently was, or contained as its distinctive mark, a library—like Sippar, as implied in Berosus and found in excavation. Indeed the only thing actually urged against this is that it is "difficult to believe" (EB2: 2681) by those who have taken the now untenable position of the incultural state of Palestine before the Exodus.

The two Nebos also, if their names were in fact derived from Nabu, God of writing, and he was especially worshipped there, must, like Hermopolis in Egypt, where Thoth was especially worshipped, have contained libraries, for where the god of writing was specially worshipped,

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there must have been books and libraries. And farther than this, while it may not be true that every temple implied a library, it must have been pretty nearly true of these regions, as it was elsewhere, that every oracle implies an archive. At three Debirs and two Nebos, at least, there were therefore probably or possibly sacred libraries. This may be called conjecture by those who do not feel that Seshait, and Hermopolis and Minerva and the haunts of the Moon-god in general point to libraries.

There is, however, nothing conjectural about the fact of four archives of this time; Amarna, Lachish, Taanach and Boghaz Keuei, one north, one south and two in this region, all containing tablets written in or about this region and time—perhaps the most extraordinary fact of ancient library history and an almost unparalleled fact in the history of documentary historical evidence.

PALESTINE AT THE CONQUEST

If it proves to be the fact that the invasion of Palestine by Hebrews about 1400 B.C. is the same invasion as that related in Joshua and Judges, what is already the most famous invasion in history becomes the best evidenced, for it is a four-cornered affair which we have told and retold from each of the four standpoints in the Ring and the Book fashion (though to be sure without quite the same fullness and particularity) and in original documents. As a matter of library history it is quite unexampled that for a particular series of events concerning Egyptians, Hittites, Amorites and Hebrews, there should have been discovered archival documents from each party (originals in three cases) and not merely that, but actual remains in three cases of the buildings in which these records were kept. These documents were at Amarna in Egypt, Lachish and Taanach in Palestine (the Egyptian and Amorite versions) and at Boghaz Keuei

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(the Hittite version). It may be added that while the Hebrew version is not original but transmitted the place and manner of keeping the originals is indicated: they were kept in the Ark and were located wherever the Ark was. It is worth remembering too that archives of the same date though not connected have been found in Cretan excavations.

The archives of King Akhnaton (c. 1360 B.C.) at Amarna contained the royal foreign correspondence on clay tablets. The inscription "Place of the records of the palace of the King" has been found and some hundreds of tablets have been recovered. These according to some (Maspero) had been stored in clay jars and according to others (Weber) were in wooden boxes with alabaster labels bearing the kings' names. The bulk of the collection was lost after rediscovery by an unfortunate series of events. These tablets are mostly in Babylonian lan-



BOGHAZ KEUI. TEMPLE TREASURY ARCHIVE. ROOMS
 10, 11, 12. STAIRCASE ROOMS 7, 8. FROM
 PUCHSTEIN Pl. 34
 PLATE 8

PALESTINE AT THE CONQUEST

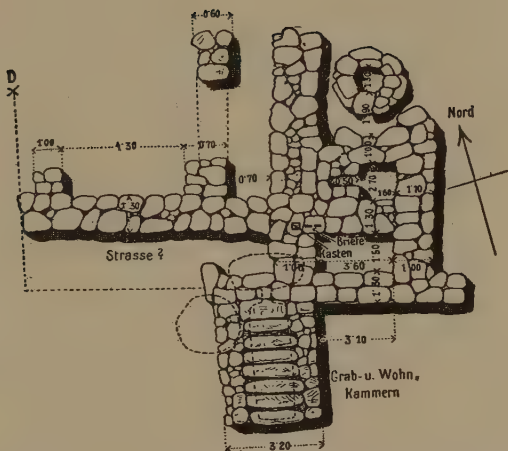
guage with a few in Mitannian. They are from various princes and Egyptian officers in Syria and give the story of events thus both from the point of view of the Amorite princes and the Egyptian officials. They imply some archival system at each of the points of origin and evidence thus at least a dozen, while they imply scores of such places in Syria or Palestine proper.

The two archives unearthed by Winckler at Boghaz Keuei are described by Puchstein. The citadel archive (p. 259) consisted of two rooms on a court with a corridor leading to the rooms. It belongs to a series of buildings—palace or temple but is itself a building. Its preservation is largely due to its having been burned, the fire hardening the soft material. Wood was apparently used for floor, roof, and even perhaps walls. The greater part of the tablets were found here or on the hillside below.

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The temple treasury library in the east treasury although less significant than the other is curiously interesting. The tablets were found in three rooms (10-12) and below the level of the floor, rather toward the east side of the rooms and more in eleven than either ten or twelve. Eleven is connected with twelve but not with ten. There is place for a staircase near by. The building was destroyed by fire. Altogether this seems to point to the archive having been kept on the second story above eleven and the tablets chiefly at the east end, so that when the buildings burned they fell as they were found. The situation does not fit the hypothesis of bringing in debris as a sort of macadam flooring for which there is analogy.

From these two archives there were recovered several thousands of tablets containing letters, treaties with Egypt, with Amorite and other princes, etc. A most



TANAACH. CITADEL ARCHIVE. FROM SELLIN P. 38
PLATE 9

PALESTINE AT THE CONQUEST

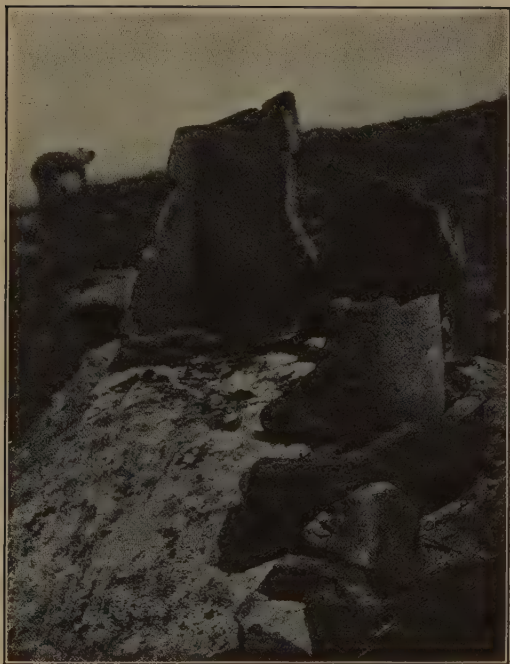
interesting and tantalizing sketch of the material was given by Winckler in the *Mittheilungen* of the German Orient Society in 1907, but his illness and death have prevented the eagerly awaited publication of farther material, which includes a treaty with the land of Jeshua for which the Hittites had to cross the river and which is supposed to have lain away to the northeast beyond the Mitannians, but which recalls the fact that there was a Prince Jeshua mentioned in the northeast of Palestine and recalls the fact that later this region was "beyond the river."

The archive at Taanach is described by Sellin. In a small room in the citadel "intended apparently as a governor's residence," was found a large quadrangular chest made of clay 4 cm. thick. The chest itself was 60 cm. wide and 65 cm. high and had apparently contained clay tablets of which twelve complete or fragmentary ones were found. These are, like

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the Amarna tablets, in the Babylonian language and belong to the Amarna period, to which also the contents of the letters suit in a general way, if not so specifically as the single tablet found at Lachish.

This single relic of the archive of Lachish is of extraordinary interest since it refers to a Zimrida, governor of Lachish, who is most interestingly mentioned in the Tel-el-Amarna letters. The date is of course soon after 1400 B.C.



CLAY BOOK JAR FROM TANAACH. FROM SELLIN
PLATE 10

CHAPTER VI

Period of the Judges

That the situation at the Conquest continued also during the period of the Judges appears from sundry considerations. (1) In the absence of evidence to the contrary, the fact that all the surrounding nations, Moabites, Edomites, Amorites, Hittites, Mitannians, etc., were literate nations with public archives would suggest continuance.

(2) The high state of organization under David requires an evolutionary background.

(3) Even the extreme (and quite untenable) theory that the Hebrews were illiterate wild Arab nomads and remained so for a long time would actually demonstrate the matter, for, as has been per-

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tinently observed (Sellin. Einl. p. 7), many at least of the Canaanite cities were not destroyed or even occupied for a long time, but were surrounded by the Hebrews and finally occupied and assimilated. It follows therefore that the archival system continued, and, under this theory, for a long time, until the Hebrews absorbed the culture of their neighbors—and by inference libraries with the rest.

(4) Taking the evidence of the documents as they stand, the matter is simple enough: various works were kept in or near the ark, Joshua added to these at least the report of a boundary commission (Joshua 18: 9-10) which was brought to the sanctuary, and Samuel "laid up" the book that he wrote "before Jehovah" i.e. at the ark. Moreover the books of Jasher, the wars of Jehovah, etc., imply a literature which in turn implies libraries. Altogether at least one sacred library is clearly indicated.

PERIOD OF THE JUDGES

(5) If documents are not taken as they stand but are analyzed into J E D P etc., they point, if less simply yet perhaps even more surely, to both political and religious libraries. In brief, it is said, that no one of J E D P is before 825 B.C., but that each one contains older material, often contemporary with the events themselves, transmitted orally or in writing. It is generally agreed among the critics that this transmitted material included various collections of songs (Kautzech pp. 2-3; Moore. Judges XXVIII) in the Book of the wars of Jehovah and the Book of Joshua, collections of laws and also collections of stories. Most of the stories found in the first eight books of the Old Testament originated before or during the age of song and story (c. 1250-1050), (Kent. Beginnings p. 17). In short, under this hypothesis, instead of one or a very few books and one library, there were many books and many collections

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of such books before the monarchy. Such collections, at their gathering point, the collector, were of course true libraries. This applies even to orally transmitted books as well as to written, but as a matter of fact there seems, from the bibliographical point of view, small possibility of oral transmission or even composition of many of these. While it may be doubted that the laws were "engraved on stone or clay" rather than papyrus (which was rapidly coming into use then in Palestine) or leather, and one may even ask evidence that they were "deposited in the various sacred cities," one can hardly avoid now agreeing with Sellin (p. 7) they were nearly all written down at the time. This by-product of modern criticism thus ensures, by unanimous agreement of the critics, collections of books in the period of the Judges. On the whole, therefore, the logical inference from these collections tends to confirm the existence

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of the libraries containing "temple chronicles and temple archives" which Sellin supposes to have existed at Ophra, Dan, Shiloh, Shechem, Gibeon, and other religious centers, and even something more than strictly archival material.

(6) To this may also be added, with all reservations, the mysterious metal ephod which appears only in this period. The ephod seems to have been either (a) a case (BDB p. 66), or (b) an instrument for consulting an oracle (BDB p. 65). The linen ephod had a pouch for the Urim and Thummim. The metal ephod seems to be distinguished from the image and may have contained the written oracular instructions (torah?) as well as the oracular instruments. It is tempting to find in these the counterpart of the Egyptian images of a god on a box containing his writings "under his feet," but this is of course only conjecture.

(7) On the public archive side the

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prima facie evidence is for record of contracts, land deeds, etc., in every city-with-its-suburbs.

(8) Negatively there is no reason to suppose an interruption in the system of scribal officers and judges between the Egyptian brick-making and the six thousand officers and judges of David, or between Phineas and Eli.

(9) Positively the Kenite scribes of Jabez (1 Chron. 2: 5) and the simple fact that a chance captive from Succoth could write out a list of names and some one at least of the rudest 300 survivals of Gideon's 32,000 primitive warriors in those frontier times could read it, point in the same direction. Most obvious of all however are the references to the staff of the muster-master, marshal or scribe, and the governors, in Deborah's song, for the document is old and both the offices referred to are by nature and probably name (write, inscribe) scribal.

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While, therefore, the times were doubtless wild, the political unity very slight, and the unity of worship even less, there is evidence that there were both political and religious libraries throughout the period—both probably even more illy or irregularly kept than similar libraries were in Europe in feudal times (if that be possible) but like them transmitting something of the old to posterity.

Very near the end of the period of the Judges, just before the reign of Saul and contemporary perhaps with Samuel, about 1100 B.C., is a most illuminating account of the record system of the neighboring city-state of Byblos. It is found in the so-called Report of Wenamon, an Egyptian document of the reign of Rameses XII. Wenamon had been sent with written credentials and money to Zakar-Baal of Byblos to get Lebanon cedar wood but arrived penniless and without credentials, having been robbed on the way. He tried

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to claim cedar as tribute due but Zakar Baal, "Had the Journal (roll) of his fathers brought in" and read to Wenamon. This proved that the previous sendings had been paid for heavily by the then Kings of Egypt. The result was that Wenamon had to go back to Egypt, taking only seven logs as a sort of sample, and return with means of payment which included among other things, "five hundred rolls of papyrus and five hundred ox hides" (probably leather rolls). Then 300 men and 300 oxen were put on the work and when the last of the cut timber was ready, Zakar-Baal notified Wenamon, at the same time mentioning that the last preceding messengers from Egypt had been kept seventeen years. "They died in their place" he added and then "He said to his butler, 'Take him and let him see their tomb, wherein they sleep'." Wenamon politely declined this grim suggestion, hinted that Zakar-Baal is now

PERIOD OF THE JUDGES

dealing with a much more dangerous proposition and diplomatically suggested that he ought to be glad and make a public record of this noteworthy transaction. "Why not have a tablet made," he says, and suggests the text of the inscription. "Then in future days," he says, "when a messenger comes from the land of Egypt . . . and reads thy name upon the *stela*, thou shalt receive water in the West, like the gods." Here we have the roll register and the tablet or *stela*.

The papyrus and leather suggest the fact, obvious from other sources, that in Syria-Palestine the clay tablets of the Amarna period are already superseded by papyrus and leather.

CHAPTER VII

Saul to the Captivity

Beginning with the monarchy the library situation among the Israelites appears more and more clearly to correspond with that of the surrounding nations. The first act recorded after the choice and proclamation of Saul as king, was the writing of a constitution by Samuel and the depositing of this in the sacred archives (1 Sam. 10: 25). This document (LXX biblion) was perhaps one of the documents ("words") of Samuel whose words (1 Chron. 29, 29 history, chronicles, act, book, etc.) seem to have been possibly a register kept by him, perhaps from the time that he succeeded Eli, as later the high priestly register (Day-book) of Johannes Maccabeus was certainly kept

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from the beginning of his high priesthood (1 Macc. 16, 24).

Whether these words of Samuel were equivalent to the technical register or book of the words of days or not, such registers were undoubtedly kept from the time of David on, and there is nothing so illuminating as to the actual library conditions of the times as the so-called chronicals, histories, or acts—the registers, journals or archives of the time. The roll-register seems to be called in full the “Book of the words of days” or with explanatory fulness “Book of the records of the words of days” but this appears to be an evolution from “words of days” or even “words” and these forms as well as the abbreviations Book of days and Book are used of the same technical work, which is the engrossing in chronological book form of any series of individual documents—all the documents of a record office, general or local, kept either

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in one series or in various classified registers such as registers of deeds, contracts, marriages, etc. The name is used also of histories written up on the basis of these register-books (the Books of Chronicles are in Hebrew "Words of days") but not themselves records.

The words of Samuel may therefore refer to such a history, or book or annals, rather than an official priestly register such as that of the Maccabean priest king and those of the kings of Israel and Judah but in every event even the briefer term, like the term Book of the words of days itself, points directly to a collection of original documents or archives and in view of comparative archival practice there is good reason to suppose these "words" of Samuel too are an official book of records like those of David and all following kings. These charter books of course, so far as they go, mirror the contents of the archives which they tran-

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scribe and the key to the public library history of the period, both sacred and royal, as regards contents at least, is to be found in them, while in turn the key to the understanding of this technical book form itself lies in the understanding of the "word" as technical book form. This cannot be too strongly stated and the fact justifies a somewhat detailed discussion.

The "word" in Hebrew is used of books, speeches, sayings, oracles, edicts, reports, formal opinions, agreements, indictments, judicial decisions, stories, records, regulations, sections of a discourse, lines of poetry, whole poems, etc., as well as acts, deeds, "matters," "affairs," events and words in the narrowest sense. It is thus very exactly, as well as literally, translated in the LXX by "logos" which as a technical book term (Birt. *Antikhes Buchwesen* pp. 28-9) means any distinct composition long or short, whether a law, an epigram or a whole complex work.

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The best English equivalent for this-work-complete-in-itself, in the case of public records, is document and in the case of literary matters, it is work or writing. The "words" of Samuel or David thus are his "acts" or "deeds" in the sense not of doings but of the individual documentary records of those doings, quite in the modern sense of the "acts and proceedings" of a convention, or the "deeds" of property. The book of the words of Solomon (as distinguished from sayings) and the book of days of Johannes Maccabeus e.g. include both their "words," acts or documentary deeds and their acts or doings (in the sense of the "Acts of the apostles"). Many of the other derived uses of *davar*, besides act or deed, also hark back to documentary forms, often technical legal forms, or official directions: business, matter, affair, task, dealing, event, thing, cause, case, way, manner, reason, sake, etc., etc. The

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davar corresponds thus with great exactness of detail to the Greek *logos*, which might mean a word or as used by Plato (*Phaedo* p. 288 D) or Isocrates (12:136, 15:12) and often, a book, it may be of 10,000 lines (Birt. *Buchrolle* 43, 69, 215: ant. *Buchwesen* 28 sq., 447, 448, 466, 477) or anything between.

Davar and *logos* alike thus mean a single word, or any word complex, from a single phrase to a whole work. It is any literary unit (cf. Birt) document, work or writing or as Birt puts it "book." It is a book looked on in its aspect as a word-complex as distinguished from the *sepher* or *biblos* which refers primarily to its material or writing.

The *davar* in this sense of a single document includes most commonly (394 times) the oracle or Word of God in the sense of a particular communication in a definite form of words, but it is used often of speeches, sayings, commands,

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edicts, answers, decisions of men, regarded as individual word-forms or documents.

In the plural *dibre* and *logoi* or *logia* alike mean a collection of documents, works or writings, i.e., a library. Sometimes this form is used in the sense of archives or library i.e. the separate documents (1 Ch. 4:22) "sentences." (BDB 182-3) psalms (2 Ch. 29:50) or other separate works, whether by one or various writers, looked at as separate compositions. At other times it means a book containing these collected works whether by one or various authors. The words of Agur (Prov. 30:11) or Jeremiah (Jer. 1:1) etc. on the one hand are "collected works" of a single author. On the other hand the "Words of the Kings of Israel" (2 Ch. 33:18) whether this refers to the archives themselves or to the "Book of the Kings of Israel" (2 Ch. 20:34) written up from these, certainly contained

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works by various authors; the registers of Jehu, prophecies of the seers, and the prayer of Manasseh, as well as the registers of the kings themselves. If this work is identical, as is likely, with the Book of the kings of Judah and Israel, it contained also the vision of Isaiah. Moreover all the "words," "words of days," "records of words of days" contained documents by various hands. In either event the "words" or documents mean, like the term books (*biblia*) and perhaps parchments (*membrana*), a collection of books or documents either in the sense of archive or library of separate documents, or else in the sense of a chartulary, or printed "Archives of the State Department."

These collected documents in register form constituted apparently a continuous series until the time when the Book of Chronicles was written and were extant at that time; the "words" of Samuel,

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“Chronicles” and “Last words” of David (1 Ch. 23: 27, 27: 24); the “Book of the words (acts) of Solomon (1 Ki. 11: 41), the Book of the words of days of the Kings of Judah and the Book of the words of days of the Kings of Israel—the kingdoms after division each having naturally its own records. That these books are official registers rather than histories appears most clearly in the case of the Persian archives (Est. 6, 1) when Ahasuerus has the “Book of the records of the words of days” (“Memorandum book of acts and proceedings”) brought and read to him. The priestly and prophetic registers seem also to have continued, if perhaps with interruptions, to the time of Ezra, Nehemiah and the Maccabees.

The words of days are to be distinguished from the “words day by day” or the “words year by year” which appear to be the books of regulations or direc-

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tions for routine whether of festivals or daily labor or annual tribute such as were common in the highly organized Egyptian system, and necessary in any such system.

The general situation during the period as to archival matters is pretty well summarized by Moore in the EB. From the time of Solomon, and more doubtfully from the time of David, he recognizes that "records were doubtless kept in the palace" and that "the temples also doubtless had their records" while there may have been also local records of cities and towns. These records contained probably chief events, treaties, edicts, etc.—probably brief annals "never wrought into narrative memoirs." The temple records contained annals of succession, repairs, changes, etc. (EB 2:2021-8). The records were, however, probably not brief but contained treaties etc. verbatim in full. To this should moreover be added the significant fact that these archives

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contained not only business records but also various works of a more or less literary character. These mentioned include, as has been noted, letters, prophecies, prayers, and even poems and wisdom literature. The words of the Kings of Israel contained prayers, visions and other matter not usually counted archival. The acts (words) of Solomon also contained literary or quasi-literary material. According to Josephus the archives of Tyre contained similar material and this was true also of the Amarna archives (c. 1380 B.C. and those at Boghaz Keuei, as well as of the Palace archives of Nineveh, and the great temple archives of Nippur and Abu Habba (Sippara). So too in Egypt the palace archives of King Neferikere contained medical works and those of Rameses III at least magical works, while the Temple archives in the time of Thutmose III contained military annals and these of Denderah certainly many works

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of a non-registerial character. The temples of early Greece also contained literary works (Rouse) and secular laws as well as temple archives proper. One temple library (Pap. Amh. 11. 10) contained the Hektor of Astydamas (Otto 1: 338; 2: 234).

In short the Palace collections of Israel were no exception to the general rule of antiquity in containing besides palace archives proper, more or less of religious archives and literary works, while the Temple collections contained more or less political records and literary works.

The whole situation, bringing out the triple character of the record system of the time, may be illustrated from the four following cases, which taken together with the Persian situation mentioned above (cf. also chapter on Persian period) surround, geographically and chronologically the period and scene of classic Judaism: (1) The system of the Maccabees

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(discussed later under the Greek period), (2) Exodus to Deuteronomy, Exodus—Numbers, whatever its origin, having the bibliographical form of a register (cf. chapter on Exodus), (3) The system of Egypt about 1500 B.C. and 1100 B.C. (cf. chapter on Egypt), (4) The system of North Syria about 1100 B.C. (cf chapter on Judges).

(1) The Book of days of the Maccabees contained a great variety of such matters as copies of letters of the high priests to the Lacedemonians, Persians and Romans, of King Demetrius, King Antiochus, etc., to them, treaties with Lacedemon and Rome, public votes of thanks, etc.—these documents being given verbatim in full or in abstract. The treaties with the Romans were on bronze tablets (*deltois chalcheis*) which were read before the congregation (1 Macc. 14:19). When Simon's ambassadors delivered (*spake*) their message in the council of the people

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of Lacedemonia (14:22) their message was registered, (anagraphed) a copy (antigraph) of their communications ("logoi" not "sayings") put (thesthai) in the public records (record books of the people) to serve as a memorial and a copy was also sent to Simon. Most significantly of all it is said that the vote of thanks of the congregation was put (thesthai) on bronze tablets erected in a conspicuous place within the bounds of the sanctuary, while copies of these were put in the treasury.

(2) The Pentateuch from Exodus to Numbers, whatever its authorship, has the form of a chronological register or registers. The author of Ex. 17:14, whoever he was, had clearly in mind such a book, as appears from the use of "memorial" or record (Zikkaron) which links both with the Book of the records of the words of days and with the "Recorder" of David. As a matter of fact the section

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is a great mass of "words," chiefly oracles but including also decisions, laws, ordinances, lists of materials, votive offerings, itineraries, censuses, genealogies, poems, ritual directions ostensibly in chronological order with a rather slight thread of narrative of events, or annals. It is not quite clear whether the author or authors of Exodus mean it to be understood that the various documents were kept separately in the ark or were written up on a roll, but Ex. 17: 14 ("book") points to the latter as do the analogies of the leather roll of Thutmose and the roll of Deuteronomy, which was to be put "by the side" of the ark. It does make clear however that the authors of Deuteronomy and Joshua regarded the book of Deuteronomy as an abstract intended for engraving on stone.

(3) Confronting the Hebrew Book of the words of days, with the annals of Thutmose III and the registerial systems

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of Judah and Israel appear to be quite in accord with that of Thutmose: (1) The ephemerides of his Syrian campaign with lists of tribute, spoils, commissary supplies, etc., were deposited in the palace archives; (2) A register or documentary history, omitting the less interesting documents, was drawn up on a leather roll and deposited in the Temple library and (3) An abstract of this, with a priestly *tendency*, was drawn up and engraved on the walls of the temple. What was true of palace and temple archives was true also of special archives of special offices and of local archives. The records of the prosecution of the tomb robbers in the reign of Rameses IX, a few years perhaps before the birth of Samuel, are extant at length (Breasted 4:252-4) and the papyrus ends: "The documents thereof are: one roll; it is deposited in the office of the vizier's archives." On the other hand a papyrus of about this time

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enumerates eight separate documents relating to this or a like prosecution of tomb robbers, kept together in one jar.

(4) And once again it appears that the archives of Zakar-Baal contained a book (roll) "journal" or register of preceding reigns and that the inscribed stele was used for noteworthy matters. This tends to show that already in the time of Samuel the record-book system of Egypt had superseded or was superseding the docketed tablet as far north in Syria as Byblos.

In brief thus these four (or five) cases all point to a system of (1) archival collections, (2) contemporary book registers, (3) contemporary publication by inscription, and in the light of these, the Old Testament method, from the time of David at least, becomes clear, certainly as to archival collections and registers, and hardly less so as to the setting up of inscriptions in permanent material. Even if "D" is not earlier than 621 B.C. it

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assumes public inscription long before that time, quite comparable in extent to the inscriptions of Thutmose III or King Mesha of Moab and, although few long inscriptions have been recovered thus far, there is at least the Siloam inscription (cf. also Is. 30:8; Job 19:23, 24; Is. 8:1; Jer. 17:1; also the Decalogue). Each one of these three elements (even the collection of inscriptions in the temple) was it must be remembered called in antiquity a "library."

That this record system had reached back for some time before David seems to follow from the fact that among his chief officers appear both a "recorder" and a "scribe" (258:16-18; 20:23-6) since such subdivision of labor implies quite an evolution from the time when one official performed all functions. Under Solomon this subdivision proceeds still farther (I K 4:2-6); there are two scribes as well as superintendents of "officials" of

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the household and over laborers and these, of necessity, kept records in their departments—as in Egypt and everywhere else at that time. It is doubted by those who hold that “down to the time of Solomon the sources of the historians were almost exclusively oral traditions,” that the list of officers is “direct” evidence of official records (Moore in: EB 2:2077) but, if any express linking with the common practice of the times is needed, it may be found in the description of the well understood Chronicles in Esth. 6:1 as “book of the ‘records’ (Zikkarōn) of the chronicles” and comparing with Mal. 3:16, Ex. 17:14 and the “recorders” of David and Solomon. Moreover to the student of the history of record-keeping the very fact of so highly organized a kingdom as that of David is itself proof. All progress in social organization depends on records: the numbering of cattle and measuring grain, for assessing taxes,

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tribute, etc., the recording of polls for taxes or military service, recording of land titles, of genealogies for inheritance, etc. It is therefore a matter of no surprise to find that there were at least 6,000 official "writers" (1 Ch. 23:4) or clerks in David's time—if not 30,000 or more. All these were writing documentary records and turning them in to their superiors to be destroyed or to be kept, presumably by the recorder or treasurer.

With every wish to avoid dogmatism it must be said therefore that from the time of David the first two elements of the record system are directly evidenced and quite beyond doubt so far as anything can be said scientifically to be beyond doubt, while permanent inscription is also evidenced, at least from the time of the Siloam inscription—if not from that of the inscribed boundary stone between Jacob and Laban, the account of which

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is at least as early as JE or not far from David's time.

Apart from the conditions shown by the registers direct library references in this period are few, at least, Palestinian or Biblical. If it is true that Deuteronomy was found when the chest was opened for contributions because it was in the chest, it indicates that the old chest which was taken and had a hole cut in the lid for the purpose, was an old book-chest—perhaps one of the chests which the teaching priests carried about the country with them on their teaching tours. Certainly they carried some sort of portable book-chest of the general nature of the Ark or those carried in the Egyptian campaign. There seems just a chance that it may have been the sacred Ark itself which seems to have disappeared from view by this time. If so, this would point to a compartment in the side of the Ark, but one does not dare suggest this.

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The reference to "the books" in Daniel (9:2) is commonly and rightfully regarded as a library reference and seems to point to the books that made up the Old Testament rather than to archives.

It may be noted here that among the few written remains of Palestine are the tablets from Gezer which are of the time of Manasseh and Ashurbanapal. These are contracts and remind one of the contracts in the clay jar to which Jeremiah refers.

From the time of Tilgath Pileser III say 740 B.C., the history of Israelite libraries is one with the history of Babylonian libraries, and from 712, in large measure, Jewish library history as well and it becomes exclusively so in 607 with the beginning of the seventy years captivity. The earlier part of this period is that of the famous libraries of the second Sargon and of Ashurbanapal, the latter includes the time of Nabonidus.

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By far the most noted of the tablet libraries, and still unequalled for its literary contents, is the library of Ashurbanapal at Nineveh discovered by Layard in 1850 and excavated by him and his successors. From this altogether more than 20,000 tablets were recovered for the British museum.

Here, as in most places, it was not one single library, but several and in this case there were two very distinct main ones. Layard found in the southwest palace or Sennacheribs' palace a series of rooms entirely filled to the height of a foot or so from the floor with tablets, the greater part of which, however, were broken. There were tablets also in adjoining chambers but not in such large quantity. The other part of this library or the other library was found by Rassam in the north palace in the center of the great room famous as the lion chamber. These two libraries are commonly spoken of and treated, as one.



NINEVEH LIBRARY GROUND-PLAN XXXVIII-XLI
 ESPECIALLY XL, XLI. FROM LAYARD'S
 BABYLON AND NINEVEH
 PLATE II

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The interest of the library lies not so much in the quantity of tablets as in the unique literary contents of the library. It included historical inscriptions, oracles, schoolbooks, hymns, prayers, letters, works on astrology, medicine, a good many Assyrian public documents (4100). These were not dissimilar in kind to those of older libraries in general but the library's distinction lies in the fact that it is far richer owing to the zeal of Ashurbanapal who gathered copies of the choicer works from older libraries everywhere.

The library is also interesting from the fact of the evidence of orderly arrangement of the tablets, which were put on shelves, catalogued and fitted for public use.

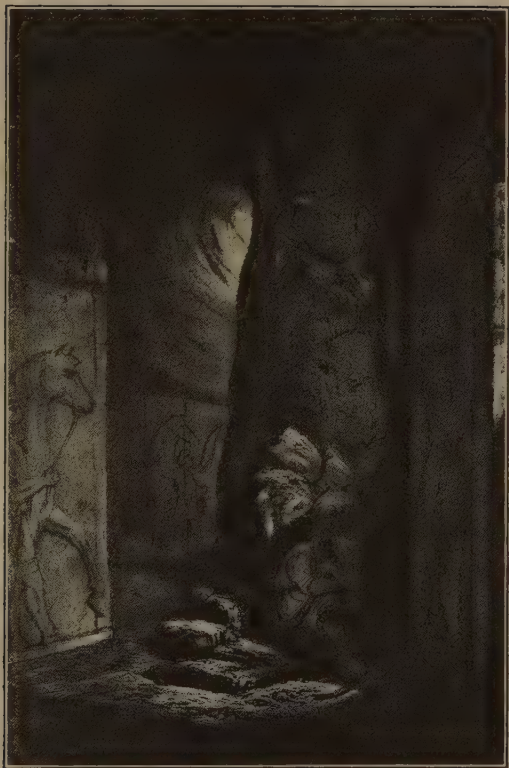
The catalogues included a sort of shelf list for series in many tablets and classified lists.

The library has a special significance as

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testifying to libraries in many places (Akkad, Assur, Babylon, Kutha and Nipur at least) and many times. It testifies also to non-business literature in these libraries back at least to Sargon I, the earliest dated ruler.

The library itself was not founded by Ashurbanapal but by predecessors and many of the tablets belong to previous reigns, but the great and systematic enrichment by Ashurbanapal rightly makes it bear his name.



NINEVEH LIBRARY. SKETCH. FROM LAYARD'S BABY-
LON AND NINEVEH P. 345
PLATE 12

CHAPTER VIII

The Persian Period

The first appearance in the Old Testament of that technical name for library which links the older with the more modern names for libraries—the House of Books—is in connection with the archives of Cyrus at Ecbatana. Here about 520 B.C. the proclamation which Cyrus issued in 536 for the return of the Jews was found “laid up.” The occasion is well known and the detail is of unusual interest.

In the times of Darius, when Zerubabel under the inspiration of Haggai and Zechariah was rebuilding the temple and the walls of Jerusalem, the Governor of the region, Tattenai and his associates, feeling that it was dangerous to let the

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Jews refortify the city, demanded of them their authority for so doing and were informed that it was a certain decree of Cyrus. Thereupon Tattenai wrote Darius "if it seems good to the king let there be search made in the house of the king's treasures which is there at Babylon whether it be so that a decree was made." "Then search was made in the house of books where the treasures were laid up in Babylon and there was found at Achmetha in the palace . . . a roll." This "house of books" is the archive-library. "The house of books" where the document was found and the "treasure house" of the king are both translated by Jerome as "bibliotheca." The LXX translates both as "bibliophylactery" or "book-keep"—the "book-ward" or place where books are kept, as robes are kept in a ward-robe. This latter as well as the former is a common term for archive and the librarians of these are "book war-

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dens"—keepers of the books or book-keepers.

It appears from this that the "House of books" or "House of rolls" was in the "House of treasures" which was in turn in the "Palace" (or "citadel"). This is highly interesting, for each of these buildings, one within the other; archive, treasury, and palace is famous in history, the palace for its splendor, the treasury for its gold and silver spoils of war and the archive not only on account of this "little separate roll" which it contained, but as one of the chief repositories of the "laws of the Medes and Persians" which were written on leather rolls.

Ecbatana "originally the royal city of the Medes and vastly superior to the other cities in wealth and in splendor of its buildings" was "unwalled but contained an artificially formed citadel fortified to an astonishing strength." In the time of Cyrus and to the time of Herodotus the

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citadel consisted of "the royal palace and its surrounding fortifications." These fortifications consisted of seven walls "arranged in circles one within the other" and "planned in such manner that each circle rises higher than the one preceding it by the height merely of the battlements" and "particular care was taken to have the Royal Palace and the treasury within the innermost circle" at the top of the "gently sloping hill." (Herodotus.) This inmost circle, is described by Herodotus now as palace and now as palace-and-treasury, and is well compared with the Acropolis of Athens which was of about the same size. As the Acropolis was long called "the city," so this citadel is called "the city" by Herodotus, although the residence of the king only, while "the rest of the people built their houses round about outside the wall." Later another and even more splendid palace was built adjoining at the foot of the citadel, outside the walls.

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However that may be, at this time the palace-and-treasury was on the top of the hill in very splendid surroundings, for the upper two walls nearest them were "encrusted the one with silver and the other with gold" and no doubt the palace with its temple and treasuries was equally adorned as the later and lower one was. It was already "vastly superior to the other cities" in the splendor of its buildings and this same treasury was already overflowing with almost incredible wealth. Whether Arbaces some sixty years or so before this "roll" of Cyrus had been placed in this Treasury, had put there "all the gold and silver treasure which had been taken at the fall of Nineveh" as alleged or not, it had in any event held, before the decree was found, and near the time when it was laid up, all the riches of Croesus which Cyrus took. It seems incredible that the walls could actually have been encrusted with gold, and

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yet the circumstances point to the truth of this.

In later days the treasury was to contain the still greater spoils which Alexander brought there from Susa (\$60,000,000), Persepolis (\$138,000,000), and Pasagardae, and some of this was doubtless merely returning to this treasury the very gold and silver which was lying laid up there when Cyrus laid up in another room or building of the treasury this roll, and Darius had it found, for Persepolis and Pasagardae were largely built up by Cyrus and Susa by Darius, out of the treasures gathered in Ecbatana.

The building of these other cities is sometimes represented as having been paid for out of the spoils of Ecbatana but this must be a mistake for splendid building in Ecbatana also went on, and it was in the meantime that the amazing new palace at the foot of the citadel was built. The Biblical account of the gold and

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silver plating of the Temple of Solomon is sometimes counted incredible but it is restrained and conservative compared with Polybius' account of this palace, and Polybius himself claims nevertheless that his tale is a "cautious" account, as he is anxious to keep well within the truth in matters beyond ordinary belief. He says that every plank of the cedar and cypress woodwork in the palace (which included a temple) was overlaid with silver or gold while all the tiles were of silver. Even after most had been stripped off by Alexander (335) Antigonus (325) and Seleucus Nicator 312-280) there was enough left in the temple (gold on columns, silver tiles piled up in it, a few gold bricks and a good many silver ones) for Antiochus in 210 to turn into coin to the amount of nearly \$5,000,000.

All this evidence that the spoils of war continued to be laid up at Ecbatana until the time of Alexander is of interest to

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library history in the fact that the spoils of war laid up by the Persian kings in their treasuries included books and that on a large scale. It is alleged by Aulus Gellius, Athenaeus and Isidore, following no doubt one another, that Xerxes after the sack of Athens put into these treasuries among other things the library which Pisistratus and his successors had built up in Athens. Later it is said, these were returned to Athens by Seleucus Nicator, again the spoils of war. This is called an "absurd story" by Edwards but there is, at most, less ground for counting it absurd than for counting it true. The Persian treasuries did contain immense quantities of literary spoils of war from Egypt as well as from Greece, and it is a reasonable inference, granted that the Persian kings took literary spoils at all, that these libraries were rich in books to a degree parallel with that of their riches in other kinds of movable wealth laid up

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in the treasuries as spoils of war. It is a fact too that Seleucus Nicator did plunder the treasury of Ecbatana and may have taken books as well as other spoils. It may not be true that plundered books from Athens were among the book spoils of the Treasury libraries of Persians but it is not absurd or even unlikely. Xerxes was not in such a hurry when he left Athens that he could not take with him whatever he wanted that was easily portable.

It is of interest too in this connection that the little portable chest in which Alexander the Great carried about his Homer was taken from one of these Persian treasuries, where however it is alleged it held not books but ointment!

Whether the Library-archive at Ecbatana was a room or suite of rooms in a great administration building like two at least of the collections of Nippur or a separate building of the palace like one of

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those at Boghaz Keuei, or a house within a house as at Edfu is perhaps guesswork in the total lack of remains at Hammadan but a little study of the ground plans of Persepolis (and Susa) and Diodorus' account of Persepolis, where the citadel contained many sumptuous residences and treasuries (plural), suggest that it may possibly have been a separate building or "a structure of stone built in the house of King Darius" like the eighteen windowed building in the palace of Darius there described by its inscription.

The archive at Ecbatana was not the only Persian royal archive at this time, nor the only Persian archive known to the Old Testament. The language and context implies that various treasuries with their Houses of books were searched before the roll was found. The Greek version of Ezra with the Greek and Latin of 1 (3) Esdras assert this and what is known from the history and practice of

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the time confirms it. At Persepolis, as at Ecbatana, palaces and treasuries were within the citadel—here three walls instead of seven but on the same plan—confirming thus to a familiar type.

It is the archive at Susa, however, which is of greatest interest to Biblical history after that at Ecbatana, for it was from this archive that the sleepless King Ahasuerus had brought and read to him the great leather record roll of selected documents and daily happenings—to the good fortune of Mordecai and the hanging of Haman. Whether the story of Esther is true or not, it witnesses most interestingly to the archival practice of the time and especially to the second stage of the practice, the leather roll or book of chronicles—the “book of records of words of days.” As the document of the Ecbatana archives was *megillah*, a little roll, the single document, so this is the *sepher*, the great roll or book of records. These

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record books of the Persians, written on the "skins" are in fact famous in diplomatic history—the "royal hides" on which the Persians wrote their ancient records, or "royal anagraphs," which were the sources from which Ctesias derived his facts.

The third stage of ancient archival practice i.e. the publication through inscription is also uncommonly well evidenced in Persian use. Such inscriptions, covering the period from 541-340 and found in some eight localities, are enumerated by Jackson. The most famous of these and one of the most famous inscriptions in the world is the Behistan Inscription which gave Rawlinson the key to the cuneiform writing. It contains 400 lines and it has a unique interest at this point because it says that "there is much else besides done by me, which is not written in this inscription" pointing thus, like the Egyptian, to fuller records in the

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archives and reminding thus of the usual sequence of triple record—the daily records in the palace, the leather roll extracts for public record and the extracts from this for publication by inscription. Another passage of this inscription, though obscure as to exact meaning, at least points to the archives “Through the grace of Auramazdas I made inscriptions such as did not exist before, on clay and on leather.” This has been explained to mean that Darius had introduced the use of leather (cowskins) for recording purposes but however that may be it recalls the Persian archives written on “skins” of which the Greeks speak and shows that the Persian libraries clearly contained clay tablets as well as the roll record books read to Ahasuerus.

Whether the Houses of books in the Houses of Treasures at Ecbatana, Persepolis, Susa, etc., contained also religious texts, schoolbooks and schools or not can

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only be inferred, but what was so generally the case with their Assyrian neighbors could hardly fail to be the case here. There were at least many religious texts for, as Diodorus says, it took 1200 "hides" to contain them. Whether this means 1200 rolls or 1200 single skins, it doubtless means skins sewed together into rolls.

It is worth noting that "House" of treasures and "House" of books are here used in parallel fashion as the receptacle of or place for treasures or books. The "Beth" or house like the "theka" of bibliotheca is simply something which contains something—as in Hebrew the house of ink is an inkstand.

Owing to the fact that the Biblical accounts of the archives of Ecbatana and Susa are given not only in Hebrew or Aramaic but occur also in Josephus, in the Septuagint and in the Vulgate, the search for the decree being given also in 1 Esdras in quite different language, these

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brief references to Persian archives became very pointed for the linguistic linking of old terms with the new. To begin with the "House of books" is plainly translated as library or (1 = 3 Esdr. 6: 23) libraries by Jerome (*bibliotheca*, *bibliothecis*) and the LXX (*bibliothekais*, *bibliophulakiois*). Both the technical words for archive are thus used and there is no question of the House of books being, like the Talmudic House of the book or, as some Egyptologists even say of Egypt, simply a schoolhouse. The same phrase is in fact used in Syriac of the Alexandrine library just before the Mohammedan conquest and long before that in the travels of the Mohar 1300 B.C., Beth Sepher is used = Kirjath Sepher or Beth Sopher. The house of books is thus unmistakably the archive, not as a scriptorium, nor as a primary school, nor as a school for scribes, nor as a registry office even, but as a depository

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of officially registered documents, a true archive or "bibliotheke."

One other library is ascribed to this period and transfers the scene again to Jerusalem where Nehemiah is said to have formed a library, gathering together the dispersed books, "the acts of the kings and of the Prophets and of David, also the letters of the kings concerning things 'laid up'." Unfortunately this account in Maccabees (2: 13) suffers from the bad company of apocryphal incident. Little weight is therefore given to it, in spite of the claim that it is taken from Nehemiah's own official records (anagraphs) and memorials (hypomnemata) and in spite of the fact that it is just what Nehemiah naturally would have done and undoubtedly did do. 'He was just from this very palace of Susa, where his office of cup-bearer was very like that of the "deacon" whom, according to the LXX, Ahasuerus sent for the Book of records

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from the archive. He undoubtedly thus established an archive and gathered into it whatever of old records there were. It is in fact said in the book of Jeremiah that he appointed men over the chambers for treasure ("treasures of the treasuries" LXX) and these as has been seen, commonly contained a library at this time. The various letters quoted verbatim point also to an archive at Jerusalem while the sacred books which were read (13: 1) and the organized singers point at least to the small liturgical collections common in Assyro-Babylonian temples.

CHAPTER IX

The Greek Period

From the conquests of Alexander (d. 325) on, the touch of Greek culture is upon the whole world and the history of libraries is a history of Greek libraries. The libraries of Asia Minor, Egypt, Syria, Palestine even and then Rome are largely Greek as to their books, Greek in architecture and Greek as to organization and keeper. In a sense modern library history begins with Aristotle, Alexander and Alexandria—say just before 325 B.C. and Biblical history first comes in touch with these libraries in the Alexandrian library about 280 B.C.

The history of the earlier Attic development of libraries which flowered in the libraries of Greater Greece, beginning

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with Alexandria, is by no means so meagre or indefinite as is commonly supposed.

What may be called the recorded history of Greek libraries begins perhaps only with Draco (670? B.C.), Solon, and Pisistratus. Inferential history however leads back to the time of Hesiod and Homer, and there is even some real evidence of collections of Orphic literature and Oracle archives from long before the Persian wars. Certainly there were private literary collections and Record Office collections before 610 B.C., and from this time on there was at least a systematic public archive in Athens, while from the time of Pisistratus, it is alleged, and certainly from the time of his son Hipparchus, there were public literary collections.

From this time on too every *archeion* or administrative department implies a collection of records, and every Museum

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or Gymnasium, a collection of literature, not forgetting either that probably every temple implies a temple archive, with records of votive offerings at least and often of oracles, while the votive collections themselves sometimes include literary works. It must be remembered too that the public archives also sometimes at least contained literary works as well as legal documents.

Under Solon, it was the Areopagite who was Keeper of the records or archivist, "guardian" or "keeper of the laws" and it is generally agreed that this noteworthy office had already existed under Draco. This "Nomophylax" may, in the person of the Areopagite, have been a sort of Attorney General as well, for as head of the court he seems to have been charged with seeing that public law, custom, and morality was observed, but that part of the office which was called "keeper of laws" seems clearly to be a

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keeping of the records, which included, under the Areopagite, diplomatic correspondence at least, as well as decisions, indictments and "laws," which in turn included public decrees and council decisions of all sorts. A little later works of the Dramatists are found among the archives, but whether for censorship, copyright or public library purposes is not known. The Areopagite as Keeper of laws, (nomophylax) was, in short, like his later brothers the Keeper of books (bibliophylax), the Keeper of the charters or rolls (papyri), (chartophylax), Keeper of writings (grammataphylax), and the Keeper of witnessed documents (syngraphaphylax) a keeper of records.

This record office was in the time of Draco and Solon and for a century following on the Areopagus, but about 460 B.C. it was removed by Ephialtes to quarters more accessible for public use, close

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to the Council chamber, and the market place (agora) and the number of Keepers of the laws was increased to seven. It was still an Archive (one of several) rather than the central archive but later, perhaps about the time of Alexander, the Metroon, the temple of the Great Mother, which was in the market place adjoining the Council chamber, was fitted up for and organized into a central archive, and remained such in that place for five centuries. It contained all the usual kinds of general public documents, including among others the lists of ephebes and as before said copies at least of some of the great dramatists. For the most part of the time it was under the direction of a "scribe" (chancellor) a sub-chancellor and scribes and the archival work was done by "public slaves." Documents were loaned out to departments and were copied for any one on demand.

This central archive did not however do

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away with the archives of the various departments of public service, and sometimes at least, a document had to be deposited in two copies, one in the Metroon and one in the department archive. As early as 407 B.C. (CIA I 324) reference is made to two copies of a document and it has been argued that one of these was for the chief archive, the other for the "Logisterion" (auditor's office) as later in Alexandria two copies had to be deposited one in the Hadrian "library," the other in the Nana library—the latter being inferior to (though perhaps older than) the Hadrian.

Where place, room, or building, or collection as a collection, is meant, it is spoken of sometimes by the name of the department or the building itself (Metroon), sometimes as the "phylactery" of laws, of documents and, later, of charters or of books. Later too it is the "library" or "library of public documents" and

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“archive” (*archeion* or administrative offices).

There are several references to the portico of the archive or archives or of the logisterion and to its use for publishing documents by inscription, but of course all public colonnades were suitable for such purpose and it is generally uncertain whether “archive” here means the administrative offices or an archival building.

The archivists were known as Keepers, Superintendents, or Secretaries of the public documents, laws, writings and later of the charters and very commonly of “books.”

By the time of Alexander there were doubtless central as well as departmental archives in all the cities of Greece—in Sparta certainly. Nearly a score of such early or late are known by mention in inscription and literature—exclusive of the many archives of Greek documents known by name in Egypt in later times and not

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including the many references to recorders, etc., which imply them.

How far these "Collections of Public writings" may have contained literary works, apart from the explicit references to the dramatists in the Metroon (which is in fact however a very large and pointed exception), is a matter of analogy—but the prime object of these public collections was certainly archival or registerial in the later times and deposits of literary works may have been merely for copyright or censorship purposes.

The direct clues to temple libraries in Athens in earliest times are surprisingly few considering the fact that Athena appears later as the patroness of and evidence for libraries, while Apollo, Hermes, Esculapius and Demeter all suggest possibilities. The public archive was to be sure in the temple of Demeter and reference to temple treasuries doubtless imply more or less religious collections, but

even the "tablet-collection" (pinacothèque) proves to be of pictures not writing. At Delphi, Dodona, etc., the evidence is more direct and is doubtless to be applied to all oracles, but the great temple library does not appear until it springs full fledged to view in the great temple library of Pergamon—yet it is likely that these existed at Athens and will sometime be identified. What is known of the decoration of the libraries of Pergamon, Ephesus, and Rome e.g. suggests the possibility that the Pompeion, which dates back to Demosthenes and Praxiteles, at least, may have contained the library of the Demeter temple, as it had statutes or paintings of Socrates, of Isocrates and of various writers of comedy, while Diogenes counted it as built for his peculiar dwelling place. Many temple treaties are known to have contained votive copies of literary works: Ephesus (Heraclitus), Delos (poems of Alcaeus, astronomy of Eudoxus), Delphi

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(poems of Aristomache, hymns to Dionysus, hymns to Apollo, Aristotle), Lindus (Pindar), Epidaurus (Thrasyllus).

There must have been private libraries long before the works of the dramatists were put in the public archives but the references to such libraries whether before or for some time after are few, and one of the very earliest of these, if royal libraries are excepted, is that of one of those very dramatists—Euripides. This is mentioned by Athenaeus but also and more famously by Aristophanes, who makes Aeschylus boast that a couple of his verses are worth more than everything belonging to Euripides

“His wife, his children, his Caphisphoron
His books and everything, himself to
boot.”

Xenophon refers to the library of Euthydemus, and many later writers speak of the library of Aristotle. Xenophon's

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reference to the regular book exportation to Asia also at least points to private libraries as common in his days.

The earliest mentioned public collections of literary works are those of Pisistratus and Polycrates of Samos, also mentioned by Athenaeus. That of Pisistratus is stated (by Aulus Gellius) to have been free for all, while oriental and later western usage point to the "public" character of any such royal library, at least in the sense of the more restricted modern "public" royal collections. These accounts are spoken of as of "doubtful authenticity" but certainly the doubt is not, in view of the archaeological developments of the last thirty years, on the ground of plausibility. It is natural enough that these should have been royal public libraries.

Whether or not a public library was established by Pisistratus, the founding by his son Hipparchus of a college (gym-

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nasium) in the Academy, in view of the Oriental, the Egyptian, and the later Attic history of education, seems to involve a library of learning and literature there and in Solon's time there were three gymnasia; Academy, Lykeion, Herakleion. The exploration of ancient libraries has probably gone far enough since 1886 to allow one to declare the rule that the College or University under whatever name and everywhere whether Museum, Gymnasium (cf. German, *Gymnasium*), Lyceum (cf. French, *Lycée*), Academy, "grammar school," often Athenaeum and perhaps also Odeum, imply a library. The most famous and direct evidence as to these is perhaps the later Ptolemaeon, to whose library the University students (ephebes) contributed, according to the inscriptions, 100 books annually, but there are many clues pointing to the fact that, wherever scholars are known to have walked and talked together in a colon-

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nade, it means a school, with library certainly, and probably assembly room, in the near vicinity. Whether the colonnade was or was not evolved from the groves or gardens in which (e.g. the Academy and the Lyceum) all the famous sects of scholars walked, it became a necessary part of the typical library as it was of the typical school, so that a library implied (Pergamon, Alexandria, Rome, Hadrian's at Athens, etc.) a colonnade.

It is with Aristotle and the Museum that library history begins to be definite. He himself founded in the Museum what is described as "the first systematic great library" and "taught the kings of Egypt library economy." When it is remembered that the first and greatest Alexandrian library in the Museum, is said by some to have been founded by the first Ptolemy, and was certainly in full swing by 280 B.C., and when one recalls farther that Alexandria was founded in 331,

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Alexander living until 325 and Aristotle until 322, one may well suppose that it was not only the example of the Museum library as sometimes said, which taught the Egyptian kings, but that the Museum itself, with its library, was founded under the direct advice of Aristotle and in his lifetime.

The museum library of Alexandria was by far the most famous of ancient libraries, and first appears in the history of Biblical libraries in connection with the procuring (c. 285 B.C.) for it by Demetrius Phalerius the alleged "library-keeper" of Ptolemy II as related by Josephus (XII, 2) of the writings of the Jews. It has been inferred that this was the time of its foundation, but the inference is rather of a library already existing and a zealous librarian trying to enrich it.

"The occasion was this: Demetrius Phalerius, who was library-keeper to the

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king, was now endeavoring, if it were possible, to gather together all the books that were in the habitable earth, and buying whatsoever was anywhere valuable, or agreeable to the king's inclination (who was very earnestly set upon collecting of books); to which inclination of his Demetrius was zealously subservient. And when once Ptolemy asked him, how many ten thousands of books he has collected he replied, that he had already about twenty times ten thousand, but that, in a little time, he should have fifty times ten thousand. But he said he had been informed, that there were books of law among the Jews, worthy of inquiring after, and worthy of the king's library, but which . . . will cause no small pains in getting them translated into the Greek tongue. . . . Wherefore he said that nothing hindered why they might not get those books to be translated also, for while nothing is wanting that is neces-

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sary for that purpose, we may have their books also in this library. So the king thought that Demetrius was very zealous to procure him abundance of books, and that he suggested what was exceeding proper for him to do; and therefore he wrote to the Jewish high-priest, that he should act accordingly."

This was the alleged origin of the famous LXX and it is obvious that it implies well organized ecclesiastical collections of books in Jerusalem at this time, and that not of canonical books only.

This first library of Alexandria in the Museum was in the royal Palace (Bruchium) and Strabo describes it thus: "It has a colonnade (peripaton), a lecture room (exedrā) and a vast establishment where the men of letters who share the use of the Museum take their meals together. This college has a common revenue and is managed by a priest who is over the Mu-

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seum. . . .” It was a palace library therefore, but under the direction of a priest. There are no archaeological remains but the description shows just the type familiar from Pergamon, Hadrian’s library, and the general Greek-Roman type. It contained 400,000 or according to some 490,000 or even 700,000 volumes.

The zealous collecting of the librarian Demetrius Phalerius (c. 285) was followed by the equally zealous organizing work of Callimachus (260-240 B.C.) who compiled a classified catalogue of the collection in 120 books (or classes). Besides using the principles of systematic classification and subdivisions, he seems to have used the principles of chronological arrangement and of alphabetical arrangement of titles. The alphabetic or dictionary arrangement is sometimes spoken of as modern, but it had been already used in the Record offices of Egypt—as well as in acrostic Psalms.

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This may well be however the first known application to literary collections, possibly to any library.

Another great Alexandrian library of the Greek period was connected with the temple of Serapis. It contained 42,000 volumes. Its place in the excavated Serapeion has not been determined. Whether the later Hadrian and Nana archival libraries were associated with either of these libraries, as sometimes said, does not appear—probably not. The Nana was probably connected with the Isis temple. There were no doubt many minor libraries in Alexandria.

Besides the library at Alexandria two libraries of this period having connection with Jewish history are directly evidenced. There is every reason to suppose also from the statements of Josephus and various minor circumstances confirming Talmudic accounts that public archives, temple libraries, and very many private

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libraries, small and great existed in Judea throughout the whole Greek period. There are moreover very good modern Jewish scholars (cf. Klostermann qt. Krauss v. 3 p. 336) who hold, on the ground of many small lines of accumulating evidence, that the synagogue public school system with its implied libraries, also dates back beyond the beginning of this period. The Book of Chronicles e.g. speaks of teachers and "scholars," using for the latter the common word for the later school scholar: the "district" or provincial school of the later school reference is, too, it is said, a word which belongs to the Persian system and must carry the general system back into the Persian period—which it may be said in passing would tend to link the system with the scribal schools of Babylonia and back to the school of Sippara.

However that may be there are these two clues—one to a college, one to an

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archival collection called "library," both at Jerusalem, at about the same time, half way between Alexander and the New Testament times, and one in a way leading to the other or at least standing in the same chain of events.

It was in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. In spite of the fighting inch by inch by the orthodox Jews, Greek influence had by this time (175 B.C. sq.) won its way everywhere outside of Judea and, as a culture distinguished from religion and institutions, had a very general hold even there. During a struggle for the high priesthood, between Jason and Menelaus, one after the other, purchased the aid of Antiochus by money, aid and zeal in Hellenizing. To this latter end permission was secured to "establish a gymnasium and ephebian and to register (anagraph) the Jerusalemites as Antiochians." The College was built at the foot of the Acropolis and the "high priest

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organizing the best of the ephebes led them under the hat." This College, at the very foot of the Acropolis, reminds that the Aglaurium at Athens, where the ephebes took their oaths, was also at the foot of the Acropolis.

The point of the situation appears in the contests of the following years, where Antiochus and his High Priest sack the city and appear from time to time holding the Akra or citadel against the hostility of the orthodox Jews. It is the Greek Jews who twice admit Antiochus to the city and it is the Akra which the Hellenized Jews hold for him against the orthodox Jews. To one who recalls the ephebic system the whole incident is vivid with suggestion—the library being, of course, if one of the lesser, yet no less an inevitable, feature of the gymnasium and ephebian.

When with the aid of the Hellenized Jews Antiochus had sacked the Temple

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he instituted an especially bitter persecution against the sacred books—presumably as containing the laws which were the point of contention. They were destroyed wherever found “and those with whom they were found, miserably perished also.”

It is small wonder therefore that when spurred by all these outrages the Jewish party had ousted the Greeks, and Judas Maccabeus began restoring the temple, he found it one of his tasks to restore the library and “gathered together all those things that were lost by reason of the war,” after the example of Jeremiah.

The literary evidence for this Library of Judas Maccabeus rests on the same source (2 Maccabees 2:14) as the Library of Nehemiah but it does not have the same apocryphal taint; it is circumstantial, suitable to time of authorship which was close to the event, and the fact of existence of the library itself is con-

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firmed from various other sources, whether Judas in fact gathered together the records scattered by the wars or not. This account written to the Egyptian Jews says that "it still exists. If you need to use any of the documents therefore, send some one to get them." Whether this lending library was a fact or not, it evidences a usage of about this time and adds one more straw to the testimony of Jerome and others as to the lending of books in Palestine, while it certainly conforms to the facts of usage in Egypt and Athens, where original documents were loaned to departments and copies made for or loaned to any one.

In 1 Maccabees, it appears not only that the archival system was in full operation from Judas on, and letters, decrees, treaties, and the like set up, largely on the holy mount or within the sanctuary, but copies of inscriptions and inscriptions which are copies of letters are mentioned,

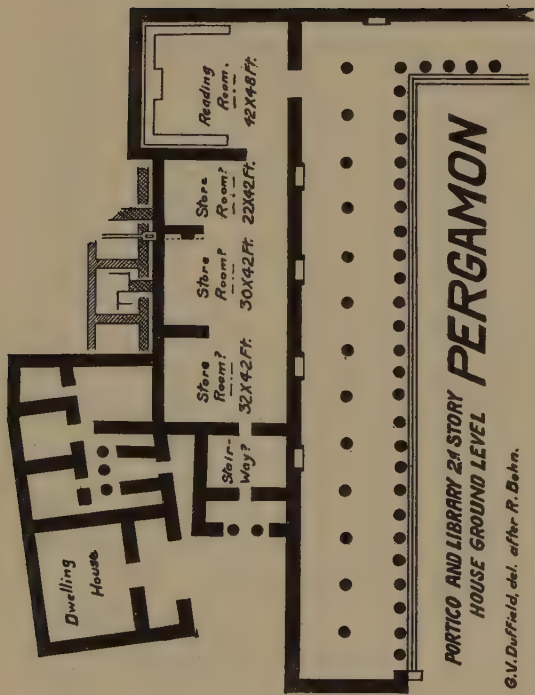
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and it is required not only that a certain writing shall be "put on tables of brass and set up within the temple in a conspicuous place" but that copies . . . shall be laid up in the Treasury to the end that Simon and his sons might have them." The archive seems here again to be in the Treasury of the temple and it contained not only documents but the great rolls for "the rest of the acts of John" are written in "the Book of days of his high priesthood." When a little later an archive appears as a separate building it seems to be just outside the temple wall, close to the Maccabean palace but doubtless this represents the public archive of the Greek and Roman administration, not the "library" of Judas nor yet the registry and archive of the High Priest.

At the very time when the Hellenizers of Jerusalem were building their College and Judas Maccabeus was refounding the

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temple library archive, Eumenes II king of Pergamon was founding or enlarging and providing buildings for the library which, after Alexandria, was the greatest and the most famous library of the ancient world. This library building was one of the group which made Pergamon according to Pliny "far the noblest city of Asia Minor" and which most likely, either directly or at second hand, set its mark on the buildings of Herod at Jerusalem. Although, therefore, it is only in apostolical times that external Biblical history has directly to do with Pergamon, it appears, according to the historians of Pergamon and of Graeco-Roman libraries, that an actual influence of this architecture, direct and indirect, was embodied in the buildings of all Palestine from the middle of the second century, and notably in the libraries of the temple and in the Archive. It was probably felt, moreover, not on the building only, but on the book



PORTICO AND LIBRARY 24 STORY **PERGAMON**
HOUSE GROUND LEVEL

G. V. Duffield, del. after R. Bohn.

LIBRARY AT PERGAMON. PLAN. DRAWN AFTER R. BOHN BY G. V. DUFFIELD
PLATE 13

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collections and perhaps the material of which they were made.

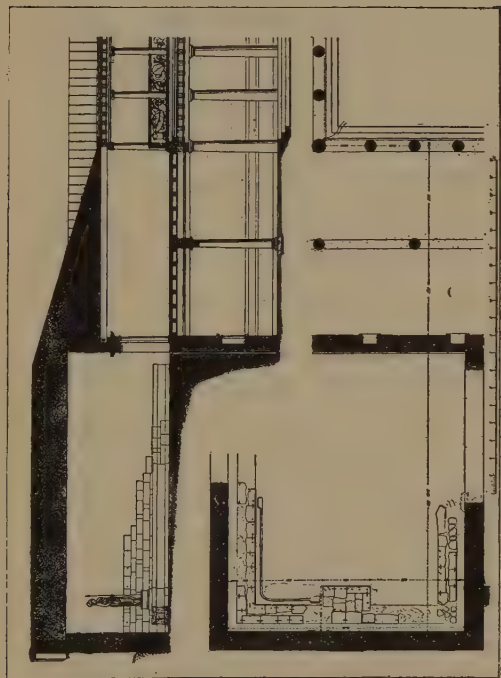
The library itself was smaller as well as later than the Museum library at Alexandria but reached the very respectable number of 200,000 rolls before it was, as alleged by Plutarch, given by Antony to Cleopatra for the library at Alexandria. It is alleged also that the invention of parchment was due to the zeal for enlarging this collection. The kings of Egypt, it is said, jealous of its rapid increase, over the Alexandrian library, cut off the supply of papyrus and led thus to the invention of parchment—which was after all little more than the perfecting of a treatment of leather, which had been long in general use especially in Asia, so that it could be used for writing on both sides.

This collection was public and was undoubtedly the same source, through copyings, of many of the books in the multitude of libraries which now sprang up, but

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it is through its building that this library was first of all in its influence on other libraries and is most significant for moderns. It set the type, so it is alleged, for ancient library buildings, and it has given to moderns the key to these ancient library buildings.

Near the end of the nineteenth century the remains of the library building at Pergamon were uncovered and showed a series of rooms adjoining a colonnade, one of these at least fitted for wall cases or shelves, and having a statue of Athena. In this room or rooms were inscribed the names of various writers; Herodotus, Homer, Alcaeus, Timotheus of Miletus, also the titles of two works—comedies. These are the now recognized elements of the Greek library building and their discovery together served to crystallize the bits of information from other libraries here and there into what is now recognized as the type of the



LIBRARY AT PERGAMON. ELEVATION AND PLAN OF READING ROOM. FROM
BOHN, PL. 35
PLATE 14

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public library buildings of the period whether palace, temple or gymnasial.

This type includes: colonnade, reading room, storage rooms and lecture room. In detail:

(1) A colonnade in which scholars could "walk and teach" as Plato in the Academy, Aristotle in the Museum, Jesus Christ in the Temple at Jerusalem, and St. Paul with Stoics and Epicureans in the porticos of the Agora at Athens.

(2) Room with cases, with names and statues or paintings of authors or symbolic pictures of literary works and with a statue of the god of learning, generally Minerva, or possibly Apollo or Hermes.

(3) Adjoining storage rooms.

(4) An assembly and lecture room or conference hall which might be sometimes the same as the Reading room and where the public council might sometimes sit.

The library as shown by the cross section cut was situated in the upper cloister,

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but this has nothing to do with the type, for it simply grows out of the fact that the building is on the slope of a hill.

It has been conjectured that a series of rooms, adjoining the library but not directly connected with it(?) was for the use of the library staff. However that may be it at least suggests the "great establishment where the men of letters who use the Museum take their meals together," which with the lecture-room and colonnade made up the Alexandrian Museum—and this too may be typical of scholarly public libraries.

Various ancient library buildings have been ascribed directly to the influence of this, including the earliest library buildings of Rome (Clarke pp. 12 sq.) and Vitruvius affords material for the suggestion (VII Praef) that even the later library buildings of Alexandria may have been influenced by it, although certainly the Alexandrian collection of books was

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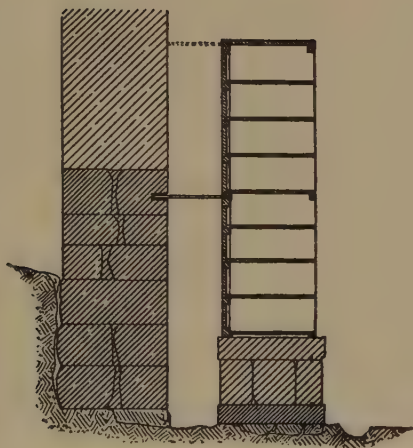
earlier. However that may be, it at least helped to fix the type, both of ground plan and architecture, of the libraries of the time. It did not invent the type, for in its main lines it was implied in the Academy and the Museums of Athens and Alexandria, nor for that matter did all the later libraries conform exactly to the type, but the main elements are there in this library.

The later architecture of Athens too was certainly influenced by Pergamon and Egypt, for many of the buildings like the Stoa of Attalus and the Ptolemaeum were built by their kings.

The establishing of this type by the uncovering of Pergamon has already led to interesting results in the identifying of other library buildings, and it promises much in the way of interpreting and guiding future excavations as well as in establishing the nature of elements in older excavations heretofore unrecognized.

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The known libraries were of course only a small fraction of the existing libraries of the period. As Birt says "In the Greek capitals of the Alexandrine times and the later capitals of the Roman empire, private libraries often had thousands of rolls and public libraries hundreds of thousands." (Birt. *Buchrolle* 244.)



LIBRARY AT PERGAMON. BOOKCASE (RECON-
STRUCTED). FROM BOHN P. 70
PLATE 15

CHAPTER X

New Testament times in Palestine

The transition from the Greek to the Roman period in the history of libraries comes in the reign of Augustus Caesar. It is in this reign too of course that the Gospel history begins, and in fact the New Testament history of libraries begins with that very enrolment which occasioned that the birth of Jesus Christ should be at Bethlehem rather than Nazareth.

At this time Palestine had been for sixty years under Roman authority although it was not until ten years later that it became a Roman province. For thirty-three years Herod the Great had been king under the Romans and for twenty-seven years under the Great Augustus—

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a fact of distinct meaning for Palestinian libraries, for Herod was the great promoter of Greek culture, learning, and architecture in Palestine, and Augustus, not only the great encourager of literature and art everywhere, but a great founder of libraries and an especially cordial friend to Herod. Under Herod who was a convinced Hellenist, the tide of Greek culture long retarded by the Jewish orthodox conservatism reached full flood, and an era of splendid building set in comparable with the earlier building of Alexandria and Pergamon. The spirit of language, learning and architecture were Greek but the movement was not without direct Roman influences. Herod had himself been in Rome and knew its institutions as well as those of various Greek capitals and the visit of Augustus to Syria in 20 B.C., just before Herod began the rebuilding of the temple, makes probable that as everywhere else in his



JERUSALEM. FROM PATON'S JERUSALEM P. 129
 PLATE 16

NEW TESTAMENT TIMES

empire, his personal influence, which was everywhere turned to the encouragement of culture and in the end made the Augustan age the symbol of the highest Roman culture, was brought to bear on Herod through encouragement and suggestion.

In the matter of libraries, the coming transfers from Oriental and Greek to Roman influence had already been symbolized by the transfer to Rome by Sulla before 78 B.C. of the library of Aristotle. Plans for great public libraries too had been made by Julius Caesar, but it was only under Augustus that the Roman public libraries began and the golden era of ancient libraries set in. The first Roman public library, founded by Pollio soon after 39 B.C., belongs, it is alleged, "among the acts of generosity which Augustus suggested to others" (Clarke p. 12). Before 20 B.C. Augustus had himself founded two public libraries at least, one founded in 28, one

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in 23 B.C. the Appollonine and the Octavian, both connected with temples.

In view of these circumstances it is not far-fetched to find that the buildings and libraries of Jerusalem are to be interpreted not only by the general Hellenic type but by the Roman modification of the Hellenic type, as in the Roman libraries of Augustus and later dates.

It must not be forgotten, however, that under both Greek and Roman influence there was an intense Jewish national culture—the most deep seated and tenacious that the world has ever known and never more flourishing than at this time. In virtue of the general spirit of the time and recent educational reforms, Jewish education and Jewish libraries were flourishing at this time to such a degree as to make popular education possibly more universal and learning more generally honored than at any other place and time in world history, save in the nineteenth

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century in New England, as to popular education and in Germany as to learning.

In the matter of libraries, during the period say between the birth of Jesus Christ and the death of the last of those who figure in the New Testament, one may distinguish at least six kinds or classes of libraries known to have existed in Palestine; the temple libraries, a public central archive in Jerusalem, local public archives in many and various places, outside Jerusalem, a probable public Greek library, the monastic libraries of the Essenes in considerable numbers, hundreds and probably thousands of synagogue and other school libraries, and a great number of private libraries.

Beginning with the public libraries, it appears that among the buildings of Herod are several which throw light on the public library situation, first the magnificent temple with its porticos, then a forum and between the two a council

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chamber and archive—all of these in the upper city, close to the main entrance to the temple and recalling in their arrangement the similar arrangement of forum, council chamber, archive in Athens—the natural and common case of Greek or Roman cities at this time. This archive was of course the public Greek archive corresponding to the library archives of Alexandria and the various departments of Egypt, it was an “archive” by name, not a “library” and may thus possibly refer to offices, not documents, although in any event there were doubtless records in the offices. Adjoining the council room and archive was the Temple with its superb porticos, used for teaching, and the inner temple with its treasures and equally fine, if not equally great, porticos, likewise used for teaching. Somewhere in the temple was the “Chamber of hewn stones,” where the Sanhedrin sat, also a “conversation hall” and a sacred archive

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at least. Putting these facts together with the circumstances and one may venture to think, making of course all the reservations which belong to hypothesis, that there was not only a sacred library-archive in the temple itself but a public library, perhaps two libraries, one of New Hebrew and one of Greek books, in the outer court, and one may even venture to locate these with rather more (even if still slight) evidence than serves for the usual conjectures (as to e.g. the place of meeting of the Sanhedrin).

The temple archive in the time of the Maccabees had been in the treasury of the temple and no doubt this archive, the archive of the high priests, to which Josephus refers was there still. Among the older Oriental libraries, as well as at this time and for a long time afterwards in Roman libraries, a "library" might be even chiefly archival. It is likely, therefore, that Temple archive and Temple library

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may have been one, but whether one or many the library or library-archive was in the Treasury, in whose porticos also Jesus Christ walked and taught and in some adjoining chamber to which He sat, hearing the teachers and asking questions, when He went up to the temple at the age of twelve years. In this lecture room, reading room, or *schola*, according to Greek and Roman usage, the council might also meet—which suggests the “Chamber of the counsellors” which has been by some located in the “House between the two gates”—but whether this could adjoin the treasury is a question. At all events all those elements, library, portico for walking instruction, council room, *schola*, are known to have been in the temple at this time somewhere, probably all in the inner temple.

Neither teaching nor council meetings were, however, confined to the inner temple. Both Jesus and the Apostles taught

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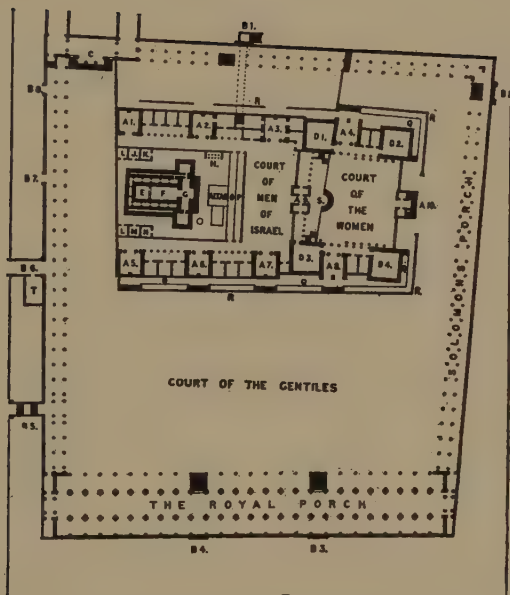
in Solomon's porch and the Sanhedrin must often have met outside the sacred enclosure for non-Jews might be present.

The "Chamber of hewn stones" where the Sanhedrin did often (but not always) sit, has been conjecturally put by Sanday and Waterhouse in the portico just adjoining the outside archive—a natural enough location in itself, but the analogy of the existing libraries of Rome and the later Roman libraries everywhere give a better based hypothesis and suggest that it may have been in the center of the royal porch, with libraries on either side of it, possibly New Hebrew on one side and Greek on the other.

The clues to this if small are, after all, pretty definite in view of the universal library usage of the time. On the one hand there must have been at least a public Greek library. Josephus uses a great range of Greek books, the Talmud implies that these books were numerous,

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and there is hardly so much as a chance that Herod or Augustus, planning for this temple at this time, should not have provided a public library or libraries in connection with it. Indeed no one in any Greek or Roman city of the time would not have done so. On the other hand the archive was an "archive" not a "library-archive," and the chances are that the Greek books were not kept there. Again it was inevitably in a Portico, wherever it was, and near a council room. Once more both Jesus Christ and his Apostles taught in Solomon's porch which suggests, perhaps implies, an adjoining library i.e. the usual place of public teaching implies it. Again the ground plan of the Roman libraries of Augustus all show a central council room or "schola" or both, combined with libraries on both sides—Greek on one, Latin on the other. Once more the entrances at the south permit of it—coming in underneath and leaving



TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM. FROM PATON P. 137 (AFTER
SANDAY AND WATERHOUSE)
PLATE 17

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the whole Royal Portico free for these purposes. A glance at the floor plan of the Library of Hadrian at Athens shows just what a chamber of hewn stones between the libraries in the temple might have looked like. Since the popular teaching was in Solomon's porch, it is not perhaps far-fetched to say that if there were two libraries, one Greek and one Hebrew and New Hebrew, that the latter was at the southeast corner, the former at the southwest, with the chamber of hewn stones, or, if not that, some other room which served as reading room, place of sitting, teaching or assembly hall, between. According to Middoth (v. 4 qt. HastDB) the Hall was in fact in the south porch and according to other passages was in the form of a great basilica, which would correspond well also with the standard Roman reading room. And then, if the library was not here where was it? And what was this portico used

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for—what architectural meaning did it have if not this? Such splendid provision for those who could not enter the temple area was certainly not for mere pleasure strolling. Really the teaching in Solomon's porch and the Middoth location of the room in the south porch are almost conclusive, to one who has just worked the matter out theoretically and then finds these two confirmations.

Under Herod, a central Graeco-Jewish archive was apparently established comparable to those of Alexandria in the same period, or the Hadrian and Nanian "libraries," there a little later. It was located, as before said, in the forum near the council house and the temple. The fact of local archives in various centers appears from the "enrolment" of Joseph. This was a general "apograph" a very well known technical term a little later—and for library purposes one does not need to inquire too closely whether this

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was just like the general registrations of a few years later in Egypt, for the correction of land registry, or whether it was for taxation, or had the Jewish registration system taken into account; the event shows that there were various registration centers in Palestine, such as are well known in Egypt very shortly after this time, and in which the registered documents were kept in libraries under the care of librarians, "book-guardians" while copies were sent to the central archives ("libraries"). There are many Talmudic references to these public "archives," in Graeco-Roman times, the Greek word being simply transliterated. It is commonly spoken of as the "Gentile archive" in distinction apparently from the Jewish.

The typical library of Palestine in New Testament times was not, however, the temple library, nor the public Greek library but the Synagogue library. These

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synagogue libraries existed in great numbers for there were probably as many libraries as there were synagogues and almost every little town had at least one synagogue. The alleged three hundred and eighty synagogues in Jerusalem may be fabulous and the alleged four hundred at Sharuhan was fabulous, but modern opinion recognizes a large number in large places.

Every synagogue had of course its "Roll of the law" but this was not all. It had besides a "large number of books"—an alleged fact for which Krauss gives four Hebrew authorities. The fact of some books at least is shown also by the very interesting passage in the edict of Augustus in behalf of the Jews as given in Josephus where he says: "But if any one be caught stealing their holy books . . . whether it be out of the synagogue or public school(?), he shall be deemed a sacrilegious person and his

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goods be brought into the public treasury of the Romans."

These synagogue libraries were public libraries owned by the community. The "Things which belong to a town are e.g. the roads, the bathing institution, the synagogue, the sacred chest or ark, the sacred books," ("Nedarim v. 5"), and it is said that if the inhabitants of a town sell the open place of the town they may with its proceeds purchase at least the Scriptures and the Book of the Law for the Synagogue (Megilla 3, 1 Schürer 2, 2, p. 57). In Jerome's time, as in the time of 2nd Maccabees, the books of these libraries were loaned out.

To get the significance of Jewish education and learning it must be remembered that the synagogue was above all things a "house of instruction" as Philo (Apion 2, 7) says. It often appears with this name as the plain synonym. Both the elementary school, Bethsepher, or

BIBLICAL LIBRARIES

“House of the book,” and higher schools of Midrash and Talmud were held in the synagogue, although there were also separate schoolhouses and school was also perhaps held at the house of the teacher (House of the scribe). It was decreed that in case a synagogue was turned into a higher school it must still belong to the community. These non-synagogue schoolhouses must also some say, but others doubt, have contained Greek as well as Hebrew books (Krauss p. 203). The instruction of the synagogue was chiefly in the Law and Jewish History.

The libraries of the Essenes offer still another type. Like the libraries of the Begging Friars of the thirteenth century, these were community libraries, in that the members of the sect lived in community houses and had their books, like everything else, in common, just as among the Dominicans and Franciscans an individual was not allowed to own his

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own books. The number of community houses for the four thousand monks was considerable, and the fact of their libraries appears from the evidence of Josephus and Philo, which shows that one of the chief tenets of their sect was that they should keep carefully "the books of their heresy" (and the word for keeping is technically the word used for the keeping of books in a library). They were also said to be extraordinarily zealous about the writings of the ancients (Jos. B. J. II 8, 6) and they used "holy books and prophetic oracles" in the preparation for their own prophetic writing.

Many little things go to show that private libraries were as numerous in New Testament times as they were a little later when Jerome was there. Several quotations (Blau p. 90, Krauss p. 26) tend to show that every school child must own his own book. Many of the Rabbinic questions point in this same direction e.g.

BIBLICAL LIBRARIES

“when there is a chest full of books in a man’s sleeping room, it should be kept at the head and not at the foot of the bed,” “If a man takes a double saddle bag full of books with him, etc.,” “a house which is full of books,” “one must not sit down on a seat where there is a Book of the Law lying.”

The school child’s collection contained besides small rolls, the Book (the Torah), the Prophets, the Hagiographa and these collections are spoken of in the plural as Books; on the other hand however the child’s “book” is spoken of in the singular in the famous passage, where it is said that in the wars of Hadrian during a massacre of innocents, each child was wrapped up in his own book and burned. However it may have been in New Testament times, by the year 200 A.D. at all events, it was well understood that every child had at least his own book.

In the time of Jerome when certainly

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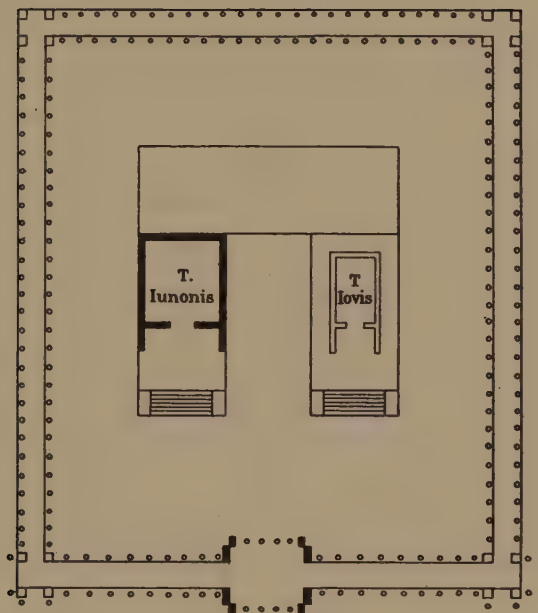
the situation was less favorable than before, and learning and education far less flourishing, many private families among the Jews had closets and chests full of books.

Altogether it seems rather clear that the popular education and the condition of libraries in Palestine in New Testament times compares well, perhaps even closely, with Puritan times in England and New England, when almost every plain family had its Bible and hymn book or Bible and New England Primer—and not much else. At all events libraries were common to an extent unbelievable, before recent research brought out the general extensive prevalence of books and libraries in the world at that time.

CHAPTER XI

Roman libraries in apostolical times

The travels of the apostles in the spreading of Christianity led to most of the great cities of the Roman Empire. All of these cities, as we know now, had many libraries, private and public—and among the public libraries; temple, university, public-literary and archival libraries. Even rather small cities had sometimes rather grand public libraries—Como e.g. which Pliny founded at a cost of 1,000,000 sesterces and endowed with 100,000. The interesting thing is, however, that so many of the cities famous in apostolic history, are famous in library history or are among those which not merely may be inferred to have had libraries, but are now known from litera-



Metres 0 50 100

ROME. PORTICO OCTAVIAE. FROM CLARKE P. 13
PLATE 18

ROMAN LIBRARIES

ture, inscriptions or excavations to have had them. Of the seven churches of Asia e.g. Ephesus, Smyrna and Pergamon had famous public libraries and the buildings excavated at Ephesus and Pergamon are actually the chief interpreters of ancient library buildings. The archives, too, at least of Thyatira (with its portico) Smyrna, Ephesus, and Hierapolis (which is so closely associated with Laodicea) are mentioned in the inscriptions. Add to this that Apollos was of Alexandria and remembering Paul at Athens, Corinth and Rome and apostolical geography becomes almost one with the historical geography of known libraries of the time, in its outlines and main localities. The libraries of Pompeii and of North Africa are the only important exceptions, although there are a score or more of minor known libraries or archives in places not mentioned in the New Testament.

Not all of these known libraries, in these

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Apostolical places were there when the apostles were—some were destroyed before their day, some not founded until after them, but in very many cases it can be said that these known libraries were the libraries which the apostles saw and which they may have used and perhaps did use, as to their teaching porticos at least, as they in fact used the temple porticos in Jerusalem and the porticos of Athens. Even the later libraries; the library of Celsus at Ephesus, Hadrian's library at Athens and the library of Tim-gad, at least throw light on the type of public library buildings of the Apostolical times, which lie between the time of these libraries and the earlier libraries of Rome and Pompeii.

The first public libraries with which the apostles came in contact in the western world were the libraries of the synagogues, which they found in all the cities and which they used. The earliest

ROMAN LIBRARIES

churches, springing as they did almost directly from these synagogues doubtless also had their church libraries and, as a matter of fact, as soon as they begin to have buildings of their own, the little cupboard in the wall or "armarium," reminding of the niches in the walls of the public libraries of Roman times, begin to appear. It is fairly beyond question, therefore, that the seven churches of Asia and the churches of Corinth, Rome, and elsewhere had their little liturgical collections, at least, even from the very beginning of their existence as actual organizations.

The libraries of Pergamon and Alexandria and the earliest libraries of Athens have already been discussed. Those of earlier Alexandria were probably still existing in apostolical times and the later Nalian and Hadrian "libraries" were extant in Biblical times, if these times are extended to include the lifetime of persons

BIBLICAL LIBRARIES

mentioned in the New Testament—as why not? At Athens also the archive (Metröon) and the Ptolemaeum gymnasium at least were still there in St. Paul's day and the library of Pergamon probably likewise, even if her chief treasures had been, as alleged, moved to Alexandria.

Of the library of Smyrna little is known save that it included with the library an "Homerium" which was doubtless a place of teaching to be compared with the Museums of Athens and Alexandria or to the Ptolemaeum and has "a quadrangular portico." Of other public libraries in Asia Minor in Roman times besides that of Ephesus, which falls rather late in the period and will be discussed later, not much is known save that there were several in Halicarnassus, that the library of Prusa was a memorial library and that the library of Soli which is mentioned in an inscription of apostolical times is there called "book-ward" (bibliophylacterion)

ROMAN LIBRARIES

rather than "book-depository" (bibliothèque) at this time.

The chief library of the period at Athens, too, Hadrian's library, falls late in the period and will be discussed later. It was not built when St. Paul reasoned in the market place daily with Epicurean and Stoic philosophers and was taken before the Areopagus, although there were surely libraries in the Stoas where he reasoned, the Ptolemaeum with its library was close by and just beyond it was the place where Hadrian's library was to be built while many of those who listened to St. Paul were yet alive. On his way from the market place to the Areopagus he must have passed by the Metroon.

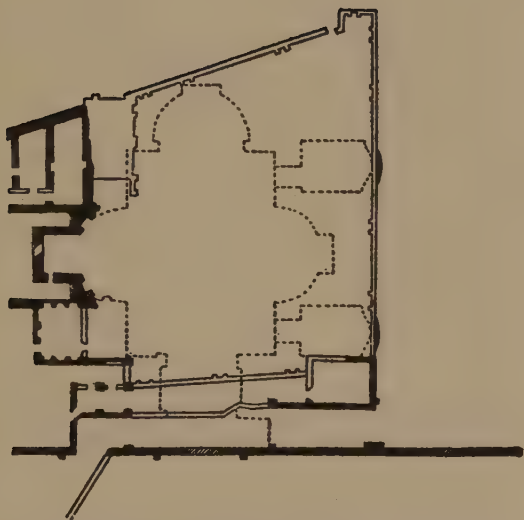
Of four Greek libraries mentioned, outside of Athens, besides the various archives, that of Corinth is known to have been decorated with busts, and that of Dyrrachium cost 170,000 sesterces, public money. The most interesting one is how-

BIBLICAL LIBRARIES

ever the library at Delphi established by the Amphyctionic council from temple funds and its librarian in apostolical times was one Flavius Soclarus.

At Rome at the time of the visits of St. Paul there had been founded at least four great public libraries, one founded by Pollio after 39 B.C. in the Atrium Libertatis, the Octavian and Apollonine or Palatine, founded by Augustus 28 and 23 (33?) B.C. respectively and a fourth by Tiberius, founded about the time of the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ. There doubtless may have been others as well, for at a later date there are said to have been no less than 28 such public libraries in the city.

While the era of great free public libraries at Rome began with Augustus, royal, national or official collections, archival and mixed, had long existed and many private collections, as well as certainly temple collections, had been quasi public.



ROME. TEMPLE OF APOLLO LIBRARY. FROM CAGNAT
P. 24
PLATE 19

ROMAN LIBRARIES

As early as 146 B.C. at the end of the Punic wars, the collections of Carthage were distributed by the Senate to the minor kings of Africa. The Senate, however, retained 28 volumes of Mago's works for translation into Latin—(Pliny. Hist. 18: 3), which points certainly to a non-archival public collection. The Carthaginians, it may be said in passing, also had well kept public archives at this time (Liv. 30: 38). After 168 Aemilius Paulus brought the royal Macedonian library of Perseus to Rome and his example was followed by Sulla who brought the library of Apellicon, which included that of Aristotle. Lucullus, too, brought literary spoils from Asia. Although some of these appear in private ownership later, they witness at least to the quantities of books brought to Rome as spoils of war and in consequence of military visits to other regions. Lucullus' library was a public library as to use but not as to ownership.

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The public records at Rome were at first kept in the private custody of the officials—kings, magistrates, etc.—who issued or authenticated them, and according to Cicero and others these were at some times less carefully kept than by the Greeks. The common place of publication was in the temples, especially for international matters. The quantity of these set up inscriptions was often great; three thousand were burned with the capitol. These collected tablet inscriptions indeed are themselves sometimes called library. Before 503 B.C., however, P. Valerius Publicola had established a central archive in the treasury of the temple of Saturn and even before this there had been for a time a partial archive in the temple of Ceres. The treasury archive of the Saturn temple was called *tabularium* or *phylacterion* (Plutarch). The name archive (archium) was much later. It was in charge, first of the cen-

ROMAN LIBRARIES

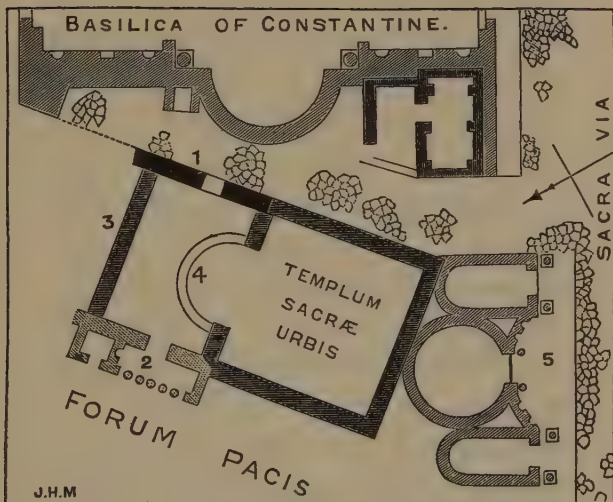
sors, then of the quaestors, then of prefects.

There was at this time besides in Rome an archive in the Atrium of Liberty with the public library of Pollio and there were sundry others, one of the most famous of them being that of the *Templum Sacrae Urbis*, which was built just after the death of St. Paul, by Vespasian (78 A.D.) and remained practically intact until 1632 A.D.

The next stage of Roman public library history, after Tiberius, was the "Library of Peace" founded by Vespasian. It is commonly said that we have no further knowledge of it than its mention, but Vespasian's Archive was in the Forum of Peace and there is every reason to suppose from the history of library-archives everywhere that, like the library and archive of the "Hall of Liberty," they were one and the same as to building and perhaps as to keepers. In this case we have the

BIBLICAL LIBRARIES

most interesting detail of this library, which, though somewhat restored after the fire of Commodus remained otherwise intact until 1632. According to Lanciani, Pavino described the hall as lighted by fifteen large windows, three of which are still visible in the Church of St. Cosmo and Damian, which now includes it. "The walls are divided into three longitudinal bands by finely cut cornices. The upper band was occupied by the windows as in our old churches, the lower was simply lined with marble slabs covered by the bookcases and screens which contained papers, and records and maps" (all of which of course have just the same form as any other "books" of the time) . . . the middle one was encrusted with tarsia work of the rarest kinds of marble with panels of allegorical scenes. This building was one of the chief libraries of Rome in 180 A.D. and contained a library until the third century at least.



ROME. VESPASIAN'S LIBRARY-ARCHIVE? FROM MID-
 DLETON V. 2 P. 16
 PLATE 20

ROMAN LIBRARIES

All of these libraries were probably or certainly double, containing both Greek and Latin books in separate collections. The public library which Caesar planned and for which Varro began to buy books was to contain both. The library of Pollio had, in fact, the double libraries, as did also the Octavian, the Apollonine and the Ulpian; all of these with separate buildings for the two languages.

In the Octavian library two temples stood in a great quadrangular portico with "schola" or "conversation hall" behind it and behind that the libraries "with the curia between them." In the Apollonine library the temple stood "in a large open peristyle, connected with which were the two libraries and between them, used perhaps as a reading room or vestibule, was a hall in which Augustus occasionally convened the Senate." The Ulpian later shows a similar arrangement, the middle room being an open portico in which

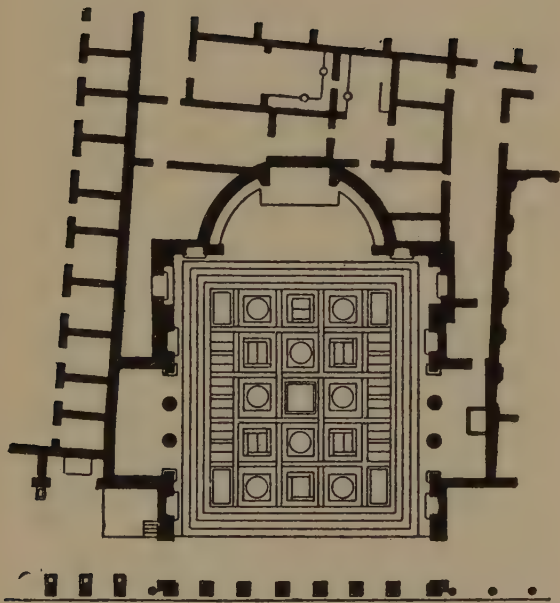
BIBLICAL LIBRARIES

Trajan's column stands—this column itself representing a papyrus roll wound around a staff. In short, already early in the time of Augustus the type of double library, with reading room between, and provision for nearby walking or sitting teaching had been developed.

The library of Pollio, the Apollonine and the Ulpian are known to have been decorated with portraits of writers and doubtless all these were so decorated as in other Greek and Roman libraries everywhere.

These libraries had been organized by some of the most famous scholars of their time beginning with Varro. A little later there was a general director (Procurator) of Roman libraries, an office which Dionysius of Alexandria once filled. As in Athens, the detailed work was done by state slaves or freedmen.

With Roman libraries belongs also the very interesting library of Pompeii, iden-



POMPEII. FROM CAGNAT P. 21
PLATE 21

ROMAN LIBRARIES

tified with a slight interrogation point, by Cagnat and which exhibits a typical apse with side niches.

This library is of uncommon interest as belonging strictly to apostolical times. It lies on the forum at Pompeii, between the market and the Temple of Vespasian, and its purpose had been a mystery. It had been guessed to be a temple, court house, a public Lares. When the libraries of Timgad and Ephesus had been excavated in 1901 and 1904, Cagnat recognized the resemblance, which is obvious on comparing the ground plans. It consists of a rectangular room 18 metres wide and 20 metres deep with a semicircular niche at the far end and three niches on each side. In the center of the room was a pedestal which might have served as an altar or for a statue; on the right is an opening into a series of adjoining rooms. The situation of the building as well as its form points to this as a public library

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with analogy to Vespasian's library in Rome as well as to the later libraries.

Six other Italian public libraries are mentioned by Cagnat, including the one at Como founded by Piny and costing him 1,100,000 sesterces, one in the temple of Hercules at Tiber and one adorned with statutes, as well as books, which was bequeathed to Volsinium.

The private libraries of Rome were on a great scale and many of them were "public to friends." Among the more famous ones are those of Cicero, Vergil, Perseus and Lucullus. Varro too who collected for Caesar's proposed public library and wrote a treatise on library economy had a famous library of his own. Some of these private libraries reached 30,000 rolls or even 62,000. The library which Trimalchio claimed to have was a double one—Greek and Latin, as probably many private ones.

Modern excavation is showing interest-

ROMAN LIBRARIES

ing villa libraries—beginning with the so-called villa of Piso where the Herculean Mss. were found. This also had the busts of writers, as commonly found in public libraries—also mosaic floors, and bookcases of inlaid wood “the height of a man.” In the center of the room which was perhaps 12 feet long, was another bookcase in which some of the books were in little boxes (*capsa*)—eighteen in one. This was of course a storage room only, the reading room adjoined. It is the best example of what the many storage rooms of the public libraries may have been like. The wall cases were divided into large pigeon holes. An excellent idea of this arrangement is given by a relief from Neumagen described by Birt (*Buchrolle* p. 247) after Brower’s *Antiquities of Treves*. This shows pigeon holes, with their rolls and labels in “three layers one above the other.” The *capsa* is perhaps referred to in the New Testament. The

BIBLICAL LIBRARIES

“cloak” which Paul left behind at Troas (2 Tim. 4, 13) was probably (Wattenb. 614, so also Birt and Gardthausen) if not a wooden “capsa” at least some sort of bookcase or cover.

Another private library which, although later, has thrown great light on the fittings of libraries was discovered by Lanciani in 1883. It was about 23 x 15 ft. The under bookcases began 3½ feet from the floor and above there was a band of marble divided by pilasters and the spaces occupied by medallions of writers.

CHAPTER XII

Post-apostolical Roman library buildings

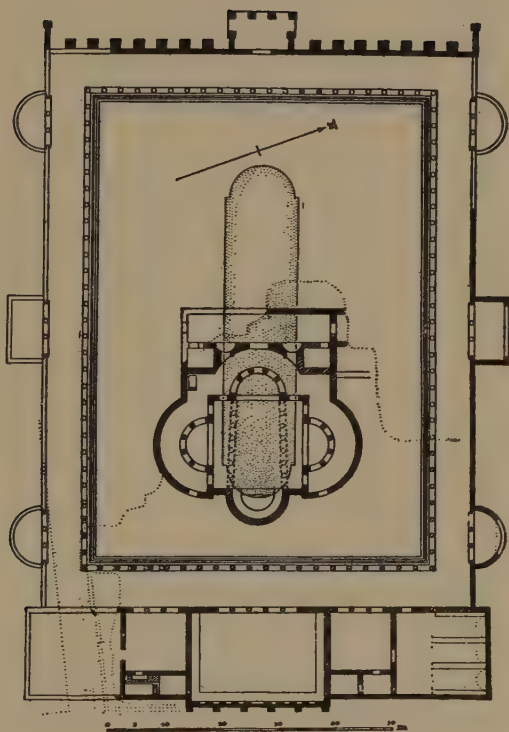
Immediately following the apostolical times are four libraries exhibiting the two chief varieties of typical Roman library building, three of these in places visited by the apostles and so near to the time as to be within the possible lifetime of some of those mentioned as hearers. These are the Ulpian at Rome, the Celsus at Ephesus, and Hadrian's Library at Athens. The fourth at Tingad is outside apostolical places and times but well within the Roman period and a valuable interpreter.

The famous Ulpian library of Trajan (98-117) founded while many of the Church of Rome who had known St. Paul in the flesh were still living, brings the

BIBLICAL LIBRARIES

tale of the great public libraries of Rome as commonly told to an end. It is said (Clark p. 19) to have been "apparently the Public Records office of Rome." At least it contained many public records and belongs, with the Liberty library, the Peace library and the others, in this regard. It was in Trajan's Forum and the scant remains of it are among the most interesting of library ruins. It was double, Greek and Latin, with room or portico between.

The library of Hadrian at Athens lies near the Roman forum and formed a great quadrangular portico 400 feet long and 470 feet wide. On the far side from the entering portico was a series of rooms, a large one in the center and variously divided rooms at the corners. Near the large room there were symbolical statues of the Iliad and Odyssey. It has been surmised that this large room was for the storage of books but the general



HADRIAN'S LIBRARY AT ATHENS. FROM WELLER
 P. 146
 PLATE 23

ROMAN LIBRARY BUILDINGS

analogy and the statues point to this as being the reading room with storage rooms on both sides. Originally the central space was a fish pond. The later building in the middle with "corridors, apses and niches" has also much the aspect of the library buildings of the later period, so that at all events a plan of this building as a whole gives one a general notion of the two types of library, the series of rooms at the end of a quadrangular portico and the building with apse and statue, interior columns, and wall space for book niches.

Just about the time of the Ulpian library there was founded at Ephesus a memorial library which was unearthed by Austrian excavators in 1904 and has proved uncommonly interesting and instructive. This "Library of Celsus" was a memorial library erected in memory of Titus Julius Celsus Polemaeanus who was consul in 92 and Proconsul of Asia in

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106-7, and who was buried under the library. It was erected by his son Titus Julius Aquila. There is no ground for connecting this Aquila with the Jewish Aquila who lived for a time at Rome and returned to Ephesus to live about 67 A.D., but it will serve for a chronologic link to note that the two Aquilas may have been living at Ephesus at the same time.

The Library stands to the southeast of the Greek market place from which five steps, about 59 feet wide, led up through a richly decorated two-story façade with three doors into a book-room 50 feet wide by 36 feet deep. Opposite the door is an apse 15 feet wide.

The whole height of the building was about 52 feet. There are said to have been three rows of the wall cases one above the other, although, it is said, the decoration of the pillars suggest only two stories, over which there was probably a

ROMAN LIBRARY BUILDINGS

balustrade passage-way for the upper bookcases.

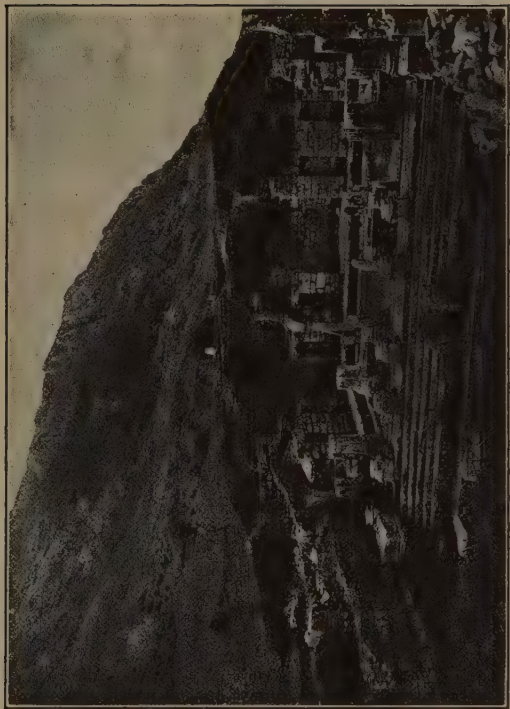
At the foot of the walls runs a ledge about 40 inches high and 46 inches wide which bears the traces of a row of pillars standing out a short distance from the wall. This also runs around the middle apse. In the walls themselves there are regular niches 20 inches deep and 9 feet high and 40 inches wide, three each on the north and south side, and two on each side of the apse. The floor and walls were inlaid with various colored marbles. Apparently the quadrangular niches contained wooden cases for the rolls. In the middle of the apse possibly stood a colossal figure of Athena.

The excavators at first thought that the hall was lighted by an opening in the roof, but on farther study it appeared that there was certainly a row of windows in the second story.

Besides the central hall there was a

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passage-way running between the inner hall and the outer wall of the building about 40 inches (or 48 inches) wide running on both sides and on its back as far as the apse. On one side, where this approached the apse, there was a flight of steps leading down under the apse where the sarcophagus of Polemaeanus was placed. The object of this passage-way was, it is said, to allow a free circulation of air in order to keep the books from dampness, a parallel to this having been found in the Library of Pergamon. It is supposed also that it contained wooden staircases leading to the upper stories, although no traces of these have been found. A rather mutilated inscription of the founder records that he has established this library with provision for the organization and care of the books, and has provided for its care and the purchase of books $2\frac{1}{2}$ myriads of denarii. This is partly repeated in another in-



EPHESUS. RUINS. FROM CAGNAT PL. I
PLATE 25

ROMAN LIBRARY BUILDINGS

scription, both interesting for introducing the technical terms for library and the ordering of books and care of the library.

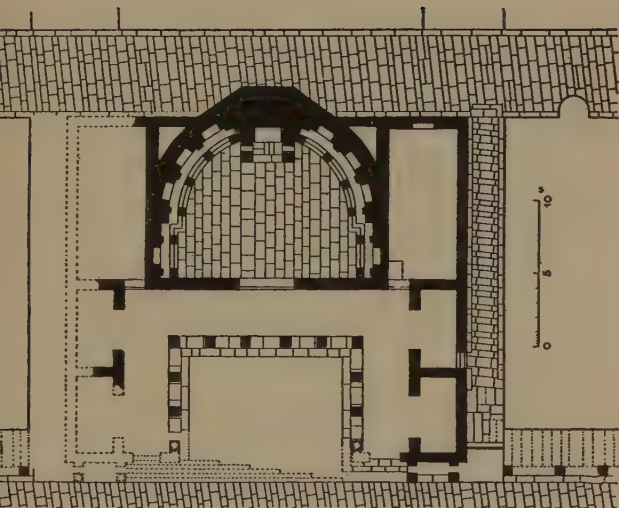
The question whether the passage-way in the wall might not have served also for book stack has been dismissed on account of its narrowness, but as a matter of fact, $1\frac{1}{5}$ meters (49 inches) is rather more than the space allowed in a modern stack for one series of shelves and a passage-way. Even if the full 50 cm. of the niches in the reading room were allowed, there would still remain a passage-way more than 2 feet wide which is more than the average in the modern stack.

The Library of Timgad in North Africa was probably not built much before 250 A.D. Although after New Testament times it is not too long after to keep it from being a valuable key to the libraries of those times and it brings the story

BIBLICAL LIBRARIES

of Roman libraries as known through archaeology through the Roman period.

The library was discovered in 1901 and is described by M. Cagnat. It was not recognized as a library at first, but, later, inscriptions were discovered which showed that it was a library and due to a bequest by a certain Julius Quintianus Flavius Rogatianus who left 400,000 sesterces for the purpose of a library under public administration. It contains an apse-reading room, with the usual inset niches behind a colonnade and a large niche in the middle of the apse with columns in front which apparently held a large statue of Minerva. Adjoining on both sides of the portico in front are rooms for storage or other purposes. Entering from the street a staircase leads into a court nearly 40 feet square, surrounded by a colonnade with four columns on each side and six columns on the front. In front is the library, the



TIMGAD. GROUND-PLAN. FROM CAGNAT P. 16
PLATE 26

ROMAN LIBRARY BUILDINGS

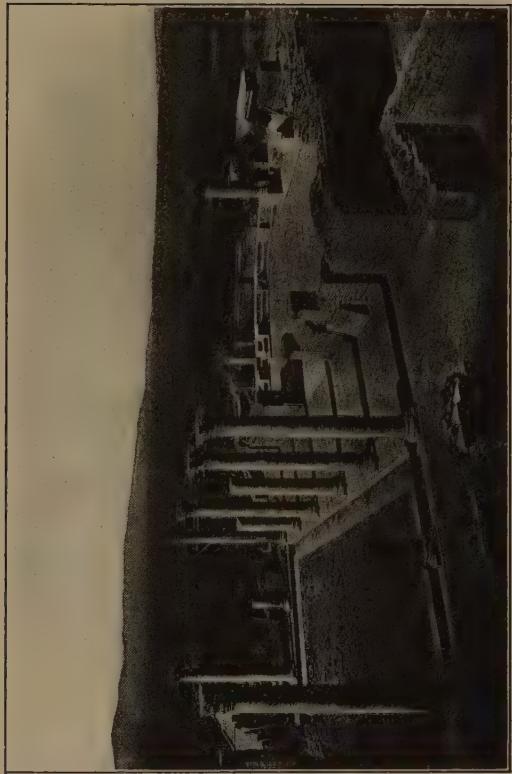
entrance to which was a great door 12 feet wide opening into the semicircular reading room, the statue of Minerva was directly opposite the door in a niche about 6 feet wide by a yard deep.

All around the room 20 inches from the ground a ledge ran 2 feet wide. Two steps led up to this. Above this ledge 30 inches high were the niches 4 feet wide and 20 inches deep, four on each side. Each of these was flanked by pilasters and in front of these were stone columns 18 inches through on square bases 22 inches high.

The height of the columns between the niches being nearly 12 feet, it is supposed that they supported a gallery with balustrade, having another series of bookcases but it looks on the face of it as if it was more likely window space above. An important difference to the library at Ephesus, which this so much resembles is, it is said, the reservation of adjoining stor-

BIBLICAL LIBRARIES

age room for books, in view of the obvious inadequacy of the space for books in the cases of the reading room itself, which presumably included only a selection of the books in common use, as in the modern library reading room. As a matter of fact, however, there was plenty of such space, so far as space was concerned, in the wall passages of the Ephesus library as has been said. Some of the side rooms at Tingad too were certainly not used for storage as one of them has a special entrance on side street and suggests an administration room. The two large rooms at the side of the main reading room also have a single niche for bookcase at the end and suggest rather study rooms or lecture rooms than storage rooms. The building is made largely of brick formerly covered with marble.



TIMGAD. RUINS. FROM CAGNAT PL. 2
PLATE 27

CHAPTER XIII

The Bible itself a Library

The Bible is itself a library. During the Middle Ages it was commonly called, first "The Divine Library" and then "The Library" (*Bibliotheca*) in the same exclusive sense that it is now known as "The Book" (*Biblia* as Latin singular). Even the word Bible itself is historically "Library" rather than "Book" for it was originally the neuter plural *Biblia* "The Books," although now made by violence into a Latin feminine singular, and "the books," i.e. books collectively, is a natural and common name for library. The Bible itself speaks of itself now as "The Books" (*Dan.* 9:2) or "The Writings" (Scriptures) (*Matt.* 21, 42; *Jo.* 5, 39, etc.), now as the sacred or holy books or

BIBLICAL LIBRARIES

writings (Ro. 1, 2; 2 Tim. 3, 15), but always in the plural and equivalent to a specific collection of books or a library, the singular "scripture" or "book" being used only of specific quotations or books. The use of *bibliotheca* for Bible grew perhaps from the fact that books in many rolls were kept together in a box—the "bookcase," *capsa* or (*biblio*)*theke*. The "Pentateuch" is a five-roll book-box. The sacred book-chest or *the* book-chest became naturally applied to that containing the Biblical books.

The evolution of the name Bible seems to have been (1) the books (Dan. 9:2) = simple library, (2) the sacred books (1 Macc. 12:9; Rom. 1:2; 2 Tim. 3:19), (3) the Books (Scriptures) *par excellence* (Matt. 21:42, etc.), (4) the Books (Biblia) *par excellence* (2 Ep. Clem. 14:2) (5) the Book (Bible).

The Bible is also a library by nature as well as by name in that it is an organized

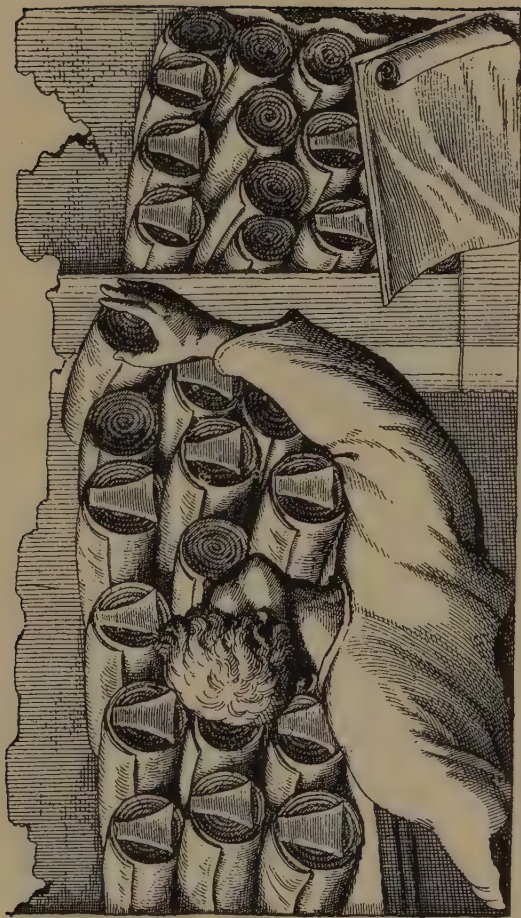
BIBLE ITSELF A LIBRARY

collection of books rather than a single work. Originally the Bible as a whole, like the Old Testament before it, was a collection of concrete separate books at a certain spot in space and time. These books themselves, in some instances (Psalms, Proverbs, Pentateuch) libraries, were in turn made a unit by their arrangement and naming as a whole. At this point, where it was a collection of real books, the Bible was still a library, although when copied as a whole it became a book which like other similar collections is also properly, though in a derived sense, called a library (Library of American Literature, Altfranzösische Bibliothek).

This fact that the Bible is itself a library is increasingly mentioned of late, especially in Old Testament studies (Kent. Beginnings p. 1, "The Old Testament is a library." Delitzsch. Babel and Bible, p. 4, "the Old Testament, that small library of books of the most multifarious

BIBLICAL LIBRARIES

kind"). Its profound bearing on the theory of the composition and inspiration of the Bible has given the fact new significance and makes an understanding of the nature of a library one of the best tools for the interpretation of the Bible in the face of modern problems. While it is not possible to elaborate this within narrow limits, it may be said briefly that the logical end of the application of the doctrine of evolution to books and libraries is that the Bible is, like man, the result of natural selection and is as unique among books as man among the animals. And, whatever may be true of men, in the case of books the formation of a book-library by natural selection tends towards the elimination of error. The more numerous the individuals for selection and the longer the period of formation, the greater the reduction of error in the work (not of course the *copy* where the longer the transmission the greater the error is)



ROLL PIGEON-HOLES. FROM BIRT BUCHROLLE P. 247
PLATE 28

BIBLE ITSELF A LIBRARY

so that the logical inference as to the Bible is, that on purely natural grounds it may be or is the nearest approximation to inerrancy among books, because of its history as a library. This does not quite lead to the position that the Bible is as unique among books as Jesus Christ among men, but under the doctrine of a creative Providence, it does imply what may be called real superhuman authorship and authority.

CHAPTER XIV

Bibliography

This bibliography is not intended as an introduction for specialists but, first for those who may be interested to read more details in English and second for the average scholarly reader who may like to follow up references and authorities—which references have been freely omitted in the text, with this bibliographical chapter in view. It is a sort of first aid to the interested and is only remotely related to the “lists of authorities consulted” sometimes given with treatises.

For first orientation on the general subject take the excellent Britannica article by Tedder and Brown, Clark’s *Care of Books* 1909, Edwards’ *Memoirs of Libraries* 1859, all, however, rather meagre on pre-Greek period and best supplemented in English, for *Babylonian Libraries*, by Morris Jastrow, Jr.’s article, *Did the Babylonian Temples have libraries* (Amer. Oriental Society, 1. 27, 1906, pp. 147-82), King’s *Sumer* and

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Akkad, Hilprecht's Exploration in Bible Lands 1903, the various introductions to the University of Pennsylvania publications, Driver's *Modern research as illustrating the Bible*, 1909 and the various books of exploration such as Layard (Nineveh), Rassam, Loftus, Peters (Nippur), etc. For Egypt, the most interesting gleanings are from Breasted's Ancient Records (5 v. 1906-7) and the publications of the Egypt Exploration Fund and the Egyptian Research Account. For the general state of literature and culture Erman's Ancient Egyptian Life is still the best aid, but Breasted's Illustrated History is hardly less useful and Wilkinson's ancient Egyptians has plan of the Ramesseum.

If any one is interested to go into the matter of the numerous legendary accounts of early date regarding antediluvian libraries, he will find the richest source in Fabricius' collection of Pseudepigraphic literature (*Cod. pseudepig* V. T.) and may get clues to the literature from Schmidt's *Bibliothekswissenschaft* (p. 6-7) or Richardson's *Antedeluvian libraries*. (Library Journal, v. 15, 1890, p. C 40-44.)

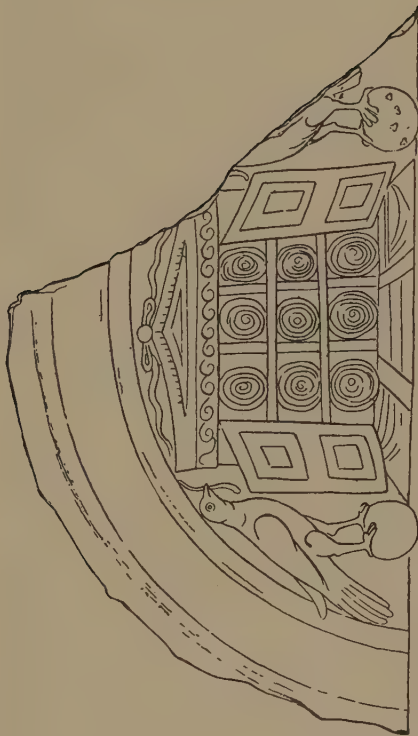
For Assyro-Babylonian libraries the interested scholar will find first hand information

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on Tello in Heuzey's article in the *Revue d'Assyriologie* v. 3 (1894), 65-8 on Sippara in Scheil's *Une Saison de Fouilles* and on Nippur in Peter's Nippur and the various publications of the University of Pennsylvania Expedition, including Hilprecht's book mentioned above and various excellent little monographs by Fischer.

The best material on Nineveh is Bezold's British Museum catalogue and his admirable paleographical description of its contents in the *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 21 (1904) 257-77.

After the ancient records of Breasted, the best gleaning for Egyptian libraries is from the archaeological works on the Ram-esseum, Denderah and Edfu, in the light of Brugsch's article in the *Zeitschrift f. aegyptol.* and Herodotus account of the library of King Osymandyas (text given in Edwards). To this may be added the works on the Temple at Karnak, although the so-called library of Thutmose III refers to his wall inscriptions only, and there is no evidence, save slight analogies, for supposing the neighboring rooms to be the place where the books were kept. For Graeco-Roman times, the best sources are the references



JEWISH-ROMAN CASE WITH ROLLS. FROM GARUCCI 490, IN BIRT P. 264
PLATE 30

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of Mitteis and Wilcken's *Grundzüge d. papyrunkunde*—used with the indexes—and the various accounts of the finding of papyri.

For Palestine at the conquest, the most convenient literary source is Winckler's English or German translation of the Tel El Amarna letters, convenient also as having a transliterated text. Knudtzon's text is of course best for experts.

On Boghaz Keuei, Puchstein's *Boghaskoi* is the authorized account for the architecture and for the contents, Winckler, in the *Orient gesellschaft Mittheilungen* No. 37, is the brilliant, instructive and suggestive source with many texts quoted. Winckler's *Nach Boghaskoi* (*Alte Orient*, 1913 Heft 3) does not add very much, but his *Vorderasien im Zweiten Jahrtausend* does give a most suggestive idea of the advanced culture state of Palestine in this period. Hall's *Ancient History of the Near East* (1913) has nothing directly about libraries but arrays the historical facts which interpret the archaeological material. The contemporaneous Hieroglyphic archives of Knossos are treated by Evans in his *Scripta Minoa* (1909).

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For early Hebrew and Jewish times the chief source is the Old Testament and the chief literature the critical introductions, beginning of course with the Bible dictionaries of Cheyne, Hastings and Orr (announced).

For Persia, Jackson's *Persia Past and Present* (1906) is an admirable help, for first use and for what it covers, with excellent references and extended quotations. The great archaeological works on Susa Persepolis, etc., are helps to interpretation.

Coming to the Greek period the reference sources become many and good. The articles in Pauly-Wissowa on Archive and Bibliotheken both by Dziatzko, are packed with references and information. The references of the Britannica and Clark are useful as select references out of overwhelming material. The relevant paragraphs of Birt (*Buchrolle* pp. 244-55), *Antikes Buchwesen* pp. 360-5) are full of instructive material. The various handbooks to ancient Athens are all useful and among these Harrison and Verrall, with its restrained, but pertinent, references is perhaps most so.

What little is known of the earlier Alexandrian Libraries is well covered in Clark and in the other general histories. Perga-

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mon is best studied in the official publication by Bohn (Berlin 1885), but the very comprehensive and rich article by Conze in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Prussian Academy (1884 II. pp. 1259-70) is fundamental. Dziatzko's article, in his *Beiträge* v. 3, should also be mentioned.

For the general state of libraries and archives in Egypt at this time see Mitteis-Wilcken quoted above.

For New Testament times in Palestine see Josephus and the superb collection of references attached to the respective topics in Blau's *Hebr. Buchwesen* (especially pp. 173-80, *Hüllen u. Behälter*) and Krauss' *Talmudische Archaeologie* (v. 3. p. 279 *Schriftenvehälter* and 280 *Archive*). The references in Schuerer's *New Testament times* are useful also.

For Roman Libraries material is abundant. The Encyclopedia articles and Lanciani's *Ruins and Excavations* are liberally equipped with references. The first class and well referenced articles of Max Ihm (*Zentralblatt* Dec. 1893) and Cagnat. (*Bibliothèques Municipales*) sweep the earlier field well, while the section of Wattenbach's *Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* (1896 pp. 507-

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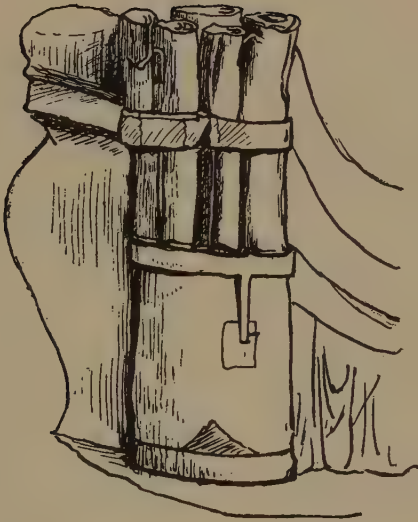
640, *Bibliotheken u. Archive*) although covering the later period, is not without profit for the earlier and in execution is a well known model.

The best account of Hadrian's Library at Athens for those who read modern Greek is in the *Athens Praktika* 1885. For those who do not, Clark and the Athenian hand-books will give ample clues.

For individual libraries that of Ephesus is best given in Herberdey's official account in the *Beiblatt* of the *Jahreshefte* of the Vienna Institute but Cagnat's account has fresh details and illustrations.

For Herculaneum, Comparetti *La villa Ercolanese* is probably best. For Pompeii and Timgad, Cagnat is the first hand source and ample.

The End



CAPSA WITH ITS FIVE ROLLS I.E. A "PENTATEUCH."
FROM BIRT BUCHROLLE P. 252
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